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The Liturgical Planning of Byzantine Churches in Cappadocia



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To my family

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ABBREVIATIONS

SOURCES AND PUBLISHED WORKS

Allatios = Leo Allatios, *The Newer Temples of the Greeks*, trans. A. Cutler (University Park and London 1969).

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JOURNALS AND COLLECTIONS

AA	=	Archäologischer Anzeiger.
AASS	=	Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana.
AJA	=	American Journal of Archaeology.
AnalBoll	=	Analecta Bollandiana.
AS	=	Anatolian Studies.
ArtBull	=	Art Bulletin.
BCH	=	Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.
BAntFr	=	Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France.
BK	=	Bedi Kartlisa.
BS	=	Byzantinoslavica.
Byz	=	Byzantion.
BZ	=	Byzantinische Zeitschrift.
CA	=	Cahiers Archéologiques.
CahCM	=	Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale.
CEB	=	Congrès International d'Etudes Byzantines.
C	=	Consilium.
Constantine VII	=	*Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus and His Age. Second International Byzantine Conference. Delfes 1987* (Athens 1989).
CRAI	=	Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.
DACL	=	F. Cabrol, H. Leclerq, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* (Paris 1924-1953).
DELTION	=	Deltion Christianikhe Archaiologikhe Etaireias.
DOP	=	Dumbarton Oaks Papers.
DOS	=	Dumbarton Oaks Studies.
EEBS	=	Epeteris hetaireia byzantinon spoudon.
IF	=	Istanbuler Forschungen.
InfHA	=	L'information d'histoire de l'art.
IstMitt	=	Istanbuler Mitteilungen.
JBAA	=	Journal of the British Archeological Association.
JÖB	=	Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik.
JSav	=	Journal des Savants.
JWarb	=	Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes.
Le aree omogene	=	Le aree omogene della Civiltà Rupestre nell'ambito dell'Impero Bizantino: la Cappadocia. Atti del Quinto Convegno Internazionale di Studio sulla Civiltà rupestre medioevale nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia (Galatina 1981).
MélUSJ	=	Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph, Beyrouth.
MonPiot	=	Monuments et Mémoires, L'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Fondation E. Piot.
OCA	=	Orientalia Christiana Analecta.

OCP	=	Orientalia Christiana Periodica.
PG	=	Patrologiae cursus completus, series graeca, ed. J. Migne.
RbK	=	Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst, ed. K. Wessel, (Stuttgart 1963).
REB	=	Revue des Études Byzantines.
RQ	=	Römische Quartalschrift.
Synthronon	=	Synthronon. Art et Archéologie de la fin de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Âge. Recueil d'Etudes (Paris 1968).
SC	=	Sources chrétiennes.
TIB	=	Tabula Imperii Byzantini.
TM	=	Travaux et Mémoires.
TTKBull	=	Türk Tarih Kurumu Belleten.
GOTR	=	Greek Orthodox Theological Review.
VV	=	Vizantijskij Vremennik.
ZR	=	Zbornik Radova Vizantoloskog Instituta.

Illustrations

LIST OF PLATES



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INTRODUCTION

This study attempts to examine the liturgical planning of rock-cut churches in the Byzantine province of Cappadocia. It aims to identify the manner in which these churches were used, to search for their architectural roots, and to trace their development from the early Christian period through the thirteenth century, the final active period of Cappadocian ecclesiastical foundations. This study will also treat the question of changes in liturgical church planning that occurred throughout this period. Due to its geographical position close to the eastern border of the Byzantine empire and the close political and economic ties of this province with the capital, Cappadocian church architecture was integrated within the general architectural and liturgical developments in both Byzantium and the Christian East. In order to identify their local characteristics, rock-cut churches of this rural area will be examined against architectural developments in the main territory of Byzantium and its neighbouring regions of Syria, Armenia, and Georgia, as well as Palestine and Egypt.

This study unfolds against the background of various historical events, including the Christianization of the region, the Arab invasion, Iconoclasm, the political consolidation of the Byzantine empire, and the Turkish occupation. A historical understanding of church planning within a particular region cannot be restricted to just one century or one narrow period of time. Limiting the study of church architecture in the provincial area to either the Early or the Middle Byzantine period would result in misunderstanding the sources of the local architecture in general, and that of the Middle Byzantine period in particular. Scholars have often used the term "provincial" to designate the quality of art in regions exterior to the Byzantine capital. Here, the term "provincial" will be used to describe Cappadocia as a geographical and administrative area of Byzantium located on its eastern frontier and comprising a rural area of the empire. The term "local" will be applied to the historical development of the art and architecture in this geographical area. Although it is important to discuss the architecture of this region within the context of its development in the Byzantine empire, it would be misleading, nonetheless, to apply the same criteria as those used for the architecture of Constantinople, a city with a unique geographical setting, life and long-established history which had an effect on the style and function of the church

buildings within it. In dealing with the Early and Middle Byzantine architecture of Cappadocia, scholars have been vague about its local character. As far as liturgical planning is concerned, examination of early churches is crucial. Ecclesiastical foundations in Cappadocia acquired their own character and distinct function owing to their specific geographic setting and long-lasting local architectural traditions. Political, cultural and ecclesiastical contact with churches of the Near East as well as with Constantinople contributed to the development of this liturgical planning. A comparative analysis of both Early and Middle Byzantine churches in this area will help to distinguish similar patterns in their architectural design. Furthermore, the survival of this pattern in thirteenth-century churches suggests that Christian communities under the Turkish occupation still carried on their architectural traditions and maintained the local character of the liturgy. A comparison between early and Middle Byzantine church planning will also contribute to revealing the changes and modifications which occurred over time.

With regard to methodological approaches,[1] scholars have already successfully demonstrated that the functional, historical and social-economic approach, as opposed to A. Grabar's formalistic approach[2] in the study of church architecture, brings more fruitful results. The typological method, and especially interpreting the development of church architecture as a multiplication of martyria types as suggested by Grabar, presents a distorted mirror in the historical development of ecclesiastical foundations. Grabar's method is visual and static; Mathews' method is functional, historical, and dynamic, promising more specific results.

In the case of Cappadocian church architecture, we encounter a variety of church plans. In dealing with this vast topic, for reasons of convenience, we have limited our study to specific parts of buildings that have liturgical import, such as sanctuaries, naves, and entrance compartments. In the chapter on the sanctuary arrangements, however, we will be discussing the sanctuary arrangement according to different church types. This method, however, is not formalistic, and we hope it will facilitate the understanding of the arrangement of the liturgical furnishing in the churches. This method will also reveal that a specific setting of liturgical furnishing can be adjusted to any church plan. It is the arrangement and setting of liturgical furnishings in the church that created the spe-

[1] Cf. Krautheimer, *Architecture*; Mathews, *Churches*; Mango, *Architecture*; Krautheimer, *Rome; Profile of the City*; Ruggieri, *Architecture*.

[2] Grabar, *Martyrium*, I, esp., 400-581.

cific shape of the liturgical performance and thus affected the church function. Also, a study of burials and the social structure of the local communities is included as a closely related subject that impacts upon the complexity of local church planning.

Church buildings that sheltered liturgical celebration were designed to be religious structures and, at the same time, public and social places. Various parts of the buildings were planned to serve specific needs of clergy, monks, and laymen, and as such, have to be treated separately. These architectural divisions of the church along with specific furnishings, painted decoration, etc., fulfill particular needs of a religious community.

The sanctuary was the center of the liturgical drama where the eucharistic sacrifice was actually performed. Its space was restricted to the clergy. The shape, the presence and type of sanctuary screen, the altar, the presence or absence of the synthronon, presbyters' chairs, and the height of the sanctuary are all elements that facilitate liturgical performance. Investigation of these aspects of the Cappadocian sanctuary will show that it functioned in quite a different way from the great cathedrals of the capital.

Moreover, the presence of one, two, three or even four similarly designed and furnished sanctuaries within the same nave, totally isolated from one another, stands in contradiction to a theory initiated by J. Braun concerning the prothesis and diakonikon chambers.[3] This theory was recently challenged by G. Descoeudres.[4] His investigation of literary sources on the function of the side rooms in Constantinopolitan churches suggests that there was no strict regulation of their use. The Cappadocian data will present archaeological evidence that these provincial churches did not have prothesis and diakonikon rooms near the central sanctuary. Instead, the specific location of the prothesis niche suggests a local character for the prothesis rite.

The naos in any Byzantine church is a unified space meant to shelter both the clergy and the laity. In considering the naos, art historians face the fact that they are dealing with architectural structures whose interior settings have disappeared long ago. The literary sources are of great help in at least reconstructing bits of furnishings. In contrast to the vast body of literary sources regarding Constantinopolitan churches, this sort of material has not survived for Cappadocia. The methodological approach

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[3] Braun, *Altar*.

[4] Descoeudres, *Pastophorien*.

to this problem, then, will be a complex investigation of the surviving material at hand. Thanks to rock cutting techniques, the furnishings of Cappadocian churches including prothesis niches, holy water basins, benches, or in some cases individual chairs, have in large part survived. Their identification in the naos, then, stands very close to the question of interpretation of their context. In proceeding in this direction, the supplementary materials are used as a clue for understanding the use of the nave. Thus, surviving dedicatory inscriptions, personal invocations, graffiti and liturgical texts, as well as decorative programs, all constitute an important body of material that sheds light on the meaning and function of various places of worship within the rock-cut churches. The surviving archaeological evidence, inscriptions and related decorative programs suggest a synthetic approach to identification and interpretation of various parts of church naves. The comparison of Cappadocian data with pieces of information on the interior settings of other Byzantine churches elsewhere will clarify specific characteristics of the local liturgical planning of the naos. The study of the donor portraits, inscriptions, decorative programs and furnishings will help, at least partially, to reconstruct how the naves were approached by the faithful. Moreover, an examination of the local social structure of Cappadocian communities will reveal that the various divisions in the church resulted from the presence of various ranks of the clergy, monks, and laity, including women and children.

A similar method can be applied to the examination of entrance compartments. The church entrance was a place that was at once practical, devotional and liturgical in context. The design and planning of entrances in Cappadocian churches, however, presented a variety of choices. An analysis of their planning and function can promote an understanding of their origin, their relationship to one another, and their specific use in this area. Moreover, the orientation of the church facades towards the roads leading to urban centers, local towns and villages points to the importance in exterior decoration in marking the presence of a church for the worshiper.

Burial places are another important aspect of Cappadocian church planning intimately tied into the fabric of ecclesiastical architecture and liturgy.[5] The role of burial places in determining the evolution of Cappadocian church planning has been underestimated by art historians. The investigation of grave sites in Cappadocia raises the important issue of

[5] Teteriatnikov, "Burial Places," 141-157.

the relationship between grave sites and church planning. The presence of burials in the entrance compartments, naves, and subsidiary chapels affects not only their architectural shape, but also their liturgical function. The presence of a burial place immediately changed the nature of the site. A burial site became a place of devotional as well as liturgical commemoration. It was also intimately connected with the question of circulation within the church. The donor might also provide for additional spaces within the church year. Thus, the question of origin and evolution of burial sites stands side by side with the development of liturgical planning in local architecture. The identification of some of the graves by their size, inscriptions, or donor portraits reveals the complex structure of local parishes, taking into account the clergy, monks and laity, including women and children.

The final chapter on the social structure of Cappadocian communities brings out the important issue that church planning cannot be fully understood from studying liturgical factors alone. Church planning closely depended on the social structure of these communities and their economic support. Churches were used for public and private services. It was the choice of the clergy, monks and laity to plan several sanctuaries within the nave. It was the choice of a donor to make provision for a particular number of seating places within the church, and also the choice of a donor to make provision for a particular place within the church, such as a private chapel, parekklesia, an arcosolia grave, or a grave within a pavement. All of these social factors inevitably had an effect on the shape of the church building, its decorative program, and its spiritual and liturgical atmosphere. The study of social structure brings up important considerations regarding the economic support of Cappadocian ecclesiastical foundations as well as their topographical distribution over the region.

In dealing with the above-mentioned aspects of Cappadocian church planning and its related burial and social-economic implications, we have applied a topological method. For the sanctuaries, for the various aspects of naves, for entrance compartments or for the burial places, we have attempted to distinguish a certain pattern within liturgical planning and to follow the life of the structural units during a long historical development.

Several previous studies have discussed various aspects of the liturgical planning of the rock-cut Middle Byzantine churches in Cappadocia. A. Epstein's article and her dissertation included treatments of some

aspects of the Cappadocian sanctuary screen.[6] Epstein, however, dealt with this subject as a separate issue, without considering the liturgical planning of the church's sanctuaries or nave. Published works on the liturgical planning of Byzantine churches and studies on Byzantine liturgy, history and literature were the source of information and inspiration during our work on Cappadocian churches. Regarding the question of Byzantine liturgical church planning, the literature grew side by side with the archaeological investigations of monuments. Most of the important published works have been discussed in Mathews' *The Early Churches of Constantinople*.[7] This book brought a particularly critical approach to the question of determining local liturgical planning, whether dealing with the capital or with its far distant provinces. In addition, his article on private liturgies adds a new aspect to interpretations of private chapels in Byzantine church buildings.[8] The problem of the function of the pastophoria in Syrian and Byzantine architecture has been attacked by Descoeudres.[9] Some aspects of the Byzantine liturgy in relation to the church function were included in C. Walter's publication.[10] Discussing the church decoration, and especially the chapel of the prothesis, he, however, avoids the question of the architectural function of this room.[11] Further discoveries of R. Taft on the Byzantine liturgy are of particular significance in connection with church function.[12] J. Baldovin's book on the stational liturgies in major centers like Rome, Jerusalem and Constantinople gives a new direction to the broader connections between the liturgy, architecture, and city planning.[13] R. Krautheimer's and C. Mango's studies, exploring complex methodological approaches including social-economic, historical, hagiographical, and so on, have given modern scholars a better orientation toward Byzantine architecture. V. Ruggieri's recent work encompasses the archaeological data, church planning, and literary sources, outlining a historical and sociological approach to Byzantintine provincial architecture during the

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[6] Epstein, "Barrier," 1-28; eadem., *The Date and Context*, 122-136.

[7] Mathews, *Churches*, 5, 6 and 8.

[8] Mathews, "'Private' Liturgy," 125-138.

[9] Descoeudres, *Pastophorien*.

[10] Walter, *Art and Ritual*, esp., 137-221.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Taft, "Eucharist," 13-24.

[13] Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship*.

period 582-867 A.D.[14] This important publication brings new evidence on some of the aspects of the liturgical planning and furnishing of Byzantine provincial church architecture during this period within a broad liturgical, theological, and historical context; it argues for its rich variety of architectural forms. All these works have helped orient our study toward a synthetic approach, combining aspects of liturgical planning with burial customs, as well as social and topographic aspects. This book will argue that the formation of provincial church liturgical planning in the rural area of Cappadocia developed side by side with the growth of art, ritual, and society. I hope that the evidence presented on Cappadocian church planning and its development will bring some insights for parallel developments in church architecture in the capital and elsewhere in Byzantium.

In dealing with this subject in historical perspective, we have become involved in various difficulties in treating various aspects of the materials, in particular, church topography, the names of churches, and their dating.

First of all, Cappadocian church topography has not been fully explored, due to the wealth of monuments. Thanks to the great enthusiasm and work of G. de Jerphanion, H. Rott, N. Thierry, G. Schiemenz, J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, M. Restle and other scholars who attempted to find, study and publish most of the known churches, the majority have been included in maps in the relatively recent publication *Arts of Cappadocia*.[15] However, many churches in this region, and in particular, in the areas of Selime, Yaprakhisar, and Esilisar, still await publication. Although I am aware of the great wealth of monuments in this region, many of the churches are not included in this study. The scope of the present work does not allow the inclusion of a vast number of monuments. However, I was able to visit and study most of the published ones. The choice of churches for this study was dictated by their specific general pattern in liturgical arrangements, according to which one can easily add other new monuments as well. The present method of organization of monuments into topological groups can be applied by further studies of liturgical planning of Cappadocian churches and can accommodate new discoveries.

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[14] Ruggieri, *Architecture*.

[15] *Arts of Cappadocia*. L. Rodley (*Cave Monasteries*, 7) estimates around 300 churches in the area; cf. Y. Ötüken's unpublished catalogue records around 700 churches.

In some cases, the church name has often been a puzzle. Many churches in this area have acquired several names. In this study I primarily use the names given in the *Arts of Cappadocia*. The names of the newly published churches are used as they are listed in the recent publication of C. Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*.

The question of dating Cappadocian rock-cut churches is far from settled. A number of surviving dedicatory inscriptions include dates; on the other hand, a great number of churches were dated on the basis of style. On the whole, the majority of churches between the tenth and thirteenth centuries present a more or less clear picture in terms of the general date of the excavation of the church or its decoration. There are no doubt many problems that still exist regarding more precise dating of monuments, but our knowledge of chronology of the Middle Byzantine churches has been considerably increased by the contributions of Jerphanion, Thierry, and the recent study of Cormack and Epstein. One large problem in the chronology of this region remains unresolved, namely the dating of the early Christian rock-cut churches. Several churches in this region have been attributed by Jerphanion, Thierry, Rott and other scholars to the early Christian or Iconoclast periods, but without any substantial evidence for their dating. Therefore, this group of monuments was avoided in many recent studies of Cappadocian architecture. For the purpose of our study on the origin of Cappadocian liturgical planning, the question of the existence of early churches is crucial. Elsewhere we have presented evidence for dating the group of early churches in this region.[16] It is based on detailed stylistic analysis of this group in comparison with the early built churches in Cappadocia and elsewhere in Byzantium, which are dated to the end of the fifth and early sixth century. In terms of chronology, it is important that some elements of liturgical planning found in early churches in this area continued to be used in the churches of the ninth, tenth, eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries.

The identification of basic features of the liturgical pattern within a broad historical period in this Byzantine province shows that liturgy was an important factor and maintained its characteristics through architectural shape. Some of the archaisms in the church architecture can be seen through the prism of liturgical performance. The devotion to local liturgy shows the great dedication of the Christians of this Byzantine province to the glorious past of the time of the Cappadocian fathers.

[16] Teteriatnikov, "Domed Hall," 36, 37; eadem., "Early Churches."

CHAPTER I

Sanctuary

The sanctuary is the focal point in the Byzantine church where the major part of the liturgy, the rite of the Eucharist is performed. Its design and furnishing reflect the specific requirements of this ritual. Because of the diversity of church planning in different regions of the Byzantine empire, one has to look for local trends in church architecture that may indicate the local shape of the liturgy. The ecclesiastical foundations of the Byzantine province of Cappadocia, situated in the Anatolian plateau close to the eastern border of the Byzantine empire, provide important evidence by which to discuss local architecture and liturgical practice. The goal of this chapter is twofold: to identify the characteristics of the sanctuary arrangements of the rock-cut churches of Cappadocia and to trace their functional context.

Rock-cut churches of this area have a distinct sanctuary plan: a single or multiple horseshoe-shaped apse-bema containing similar furnishings. Besides churches equipped with one sanctuary, numerous churches in this area have more than three sanctuaries in the same nave. The concurrent existence of churches with single or multiple sanctuary design takes the question of their purpose and function. In order to determine the sources for local developments of sanctuary design, this chapter will examine Cappadocian sanctuary arrangements from Early Christian times through the Middle Byzantine period.

Cappadocian sanctuary arrangements have never been systematically studied. Because of the difficulties in dating early Cappadocian architecture, scholars have focused attention on the more securely dated Middle Byzantine monuments and their decoration. Several studies have dealt with different aspects of sanctuary furnishing in the Middle Byzantine churches of Cappadocia. In her article on the Middle Byzantine chancel barrier, Epstein considered the use of the low and high sanctuary screens in Cappadocia as a reflection of Constantinopolitan tradition.[1] The exis-

[1] Epstein, "Barrier," 1-28. A more detailed analysis of the high and low parapet screen in the Middle Byzantine churches of Cappadocia is offered in Epstein's dissertation *The Date and Context*, 122-136. Cf. Dell'Aquila, Messina, "Templon," 20-47. The latter article also discusses Cappadocian examples of the chancel barrier in

tence of both types of sanctuary screens, however, in the Early Christian churches of Cappadocia as well as other regions of Byzantium and the Christian East, was overlooked. R. Schmerling made important observations about the low parapet and high sanctuary screens in the Early and Middle Byzantine churches in Georgia as well as in other regions of the Christian East.[2] Evidence for the use of the templon screen in early Christian churches in Byzantium and Constantinople in particular was also discussed by Mango and other scholars.[3] Mathews' article on the changes in the Middle Byzantine liturgy and planning dealt with the Cappadocian sanctuary plan but neglected early monuments.[4] He noted the three-bema arrangement in Tokalı Kilise in addition to its neighboring parekklesion chapel. His article was focussed, however, on the function of the private chapels, not specifically on the multiplication of sanctuaries in the same church. With respect to the three-bema arrangement in the nave of the New Tokalı Kilise, however, it seems that we are dealing here with another phenomenon of Byzantine church function. The three horseshoe-shaped apses-bemas are similarly furnished for the liturgy and face the same nave. This sanctuary arrangement ultimately poses the question of its purpose and function. Thus Mathews' approach challenges the long-standing theory of Grabar as the only explanation for the development of chapels in Byzantine architecture under the influence of the widespread cult of relics.[5] Although no one would deny the importance of relics for the development of ecclesiastical foundations in Byzantium and the Christian East, and for their liturgical planning and furnishing, one should take account of the fact that this phenomenon grew side by side with the intensity of the liturgical life of the church[6] and the development of the frequency of the Eucharist in churches.[7] It is these latter aspects of the role of the liturgy, both in parish churches and in monastic dwellings, that required a more complex

connection with its use in rock-cut Italian churches but without considering its early Christian tradition.

[2] Shmerling, *Malye formy*, especially 1-59. Cf. Butler, *Early Churches*, 214-215.

[3] Mango, "*Templon*," 40-43, with bibligraphy. See also Sodini, Kolokotsas, *Aliki*, I, 45-51, with bibliography.

[4] Mathews, "'Private' Liturgy," 125-138, esp. 131-34.

[5] Grabar, *Martyrium*, I, esp. 559-581.

[6] Baldovin's monograph *The Urban Character of Christian Worship* covers various aspects of this issue.

[7] Taft, "Eucharist," 13-24; idem, *Liturgy of the Hours*, esp. 199-221.

design and arrangement of church sanctuaries. Therefore the lateral apses should not be considered as pastophoria, but as three independent sanctuaries. Thus, alongside private or funeral chapels which were often integrated into the same church complex, we encounter yet another phenomenon in Cappadocia, namely the multiplication of sanctuaries in the same church. Open to the nave and sheltering altars, these multi-bema arrangements raises the question of the purpose of their design and function.

Cappadocian rock-cut church architecture shows a variety of planning: basilicas, single-, double-, and triple-nave churches, transverse naves, cross and cross-in-square plans.[8] All of these church types, however, utilized similar architectural patterns for their sanctuaries (pl. 1). In order to identify the patterns of various sanctuary plans and their purpose in the rock-cut churches of this region, this study will examine the sanctuary arrangements according to particular church type. This method will allow the reader to understand how sanctuary patterns were integrated into different church plans. It will also show that, in spite of the difference in church plans, sanctuary patterns remain consistent in the churches and reveal the functional context of the local church architecture.

1. Single Apse-Bema Arrangements

Single-Nave Churches

The basic pattern of the Cappadocian sanctuary is illustrated well by the single-nave church, the most popular in Cappadocia as well as in many other regions of the Christian East.[9] In Cappadocia, the sanctuary of this type of church is horseshoe-shaped and fully furnished for the performance of the liturgy.

One of the earliest and best-preserved examples of this type is Chapel 3 (Mistikan Kilise) in Güzelöz (Mavrucan), attributed to the pre-Iconoclast period (pl. 2, ill. 1).[10] The chapel has a simple barrel-vaulted nave.

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[8] Jerphanion, II, 401-412; *Arts of Cappadocia*, 94; Restle, "Kappadokien," cols. 980-1060.

[9] *Arts of Cappadocia*, 86, 87, figs. 33, 34; Restle, "Kappadokien," cols. 994-998.

[10] Thierry, "Art byzantin," 233-269. For our discussion of the dating of the architecture of this chapel, see Teteriatnikov, "Domed Hall," 36-37; eadem, "Early Churches." Cf. Restle, "Kappadokien," cols. 1231-1232; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 247-248, with bibliography.

Its eastern end terminates in a horseshoe-shaped apse which is elevated high above the level of its pavement. Features of this sanctuary that become typical for Cappadocian sanctuaries are: the elevated height of the floor level, the access, the design, and its furnishings.

The height of the sanctuary-bema above the pavement is approximately 80 cm. This height, with some variations, becomes a common feature of Cappadocian sanctuaries from this early period throughout Middle Byzantine times. Parallels can be found only in Armenia and Georgia where churches are also designed with a heightened sanctuary.[11] There is a difference in the design of the Cappadocian sanctuaries, however, from those in Armenia. The access to the sanctuary in the churches of Cappadocia is found on the central axis of the church, similar to its arrangement in the churches of Constantinople. In Armenian churches the sanctuary is approached by steps placed at the north and south sides of the apse. Since the latter type of sanctuary access is not found in any of the rock-cut churches in Cappadocia, the Armenians who lived and worshiped in this area must have followed the Chalcedonian rite.[12]

In Chapel 3, three steps lead directly toward the altar. The number of steps before the sanctuary varies from one church to another, suggesting that it had no particular importance.

The horseshoe-shaped apse plan of the sanctuary of Chapel 3 is the most common in Cappadocia. The origin of this apse plan goes back to Roman times and is found in Roman temples in Syria and Asia Minor.[13] We can assume then that the horseshoe-shaped apse was adopted by the local architects of Cappadocia for church architecture from the local Roman sanctuary design and incorporated into the overall design of their churches. In the rock-cut churches the horseshoe-shaped apse comprised the entire sanctuary, functioning as both apse and bema. Similarly, the

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[11] The height of the Georgian sanctuary has been mentioned by Shmerling, *Malye formy*, 26 and Melikset-Bekov, "K voprosu," 310, 311. The height of Armenian sanctuaries, however, was not taken into consideration in later studies. For example, it is found in the seveth-century churches at Aygešat and Aruč: Cuneo, *Architettura*, 106-107, 212-213. Butler recorded an eight-step high sanctuary in the Syrian churches (*Early Churches*, 213-214).

[12] On the presence of Armenians in Cappadocia: Lafontaine-Dosogne, "Çömlekçi kilise," 78-93; N. Thierry, "Notes critique à propos des peintures rupestres de Cappadoce," in eadem, *Peintures d'Asie Mineure et de Transcaucasie aux Xe et XIe s.* (London 1977) I, 339-349; Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, 26; G. Dédéyan, "L'immigration arménienne en Cappadoce," Byz 45 (1975) 41-117.

[13] D. Krencker and W. Zschietzschmann, *Römische Tempel in Syrien* (Berlin, Leipzig 1938) v. 5, 296-297, Plates, pl. 118, no. 34.

horseshoe-shaped apse is a standard feature in the sanctuaries of the early built churches in this area.[14] On the other hand, in the Early and Middle Byzantine churches of Constantinople and in other Byzantine provinces, the apse is just the eastern part of the sanctuary.[15] Thus early churches in Cappadocia show that the horseshoe-shaped apse became a consistent component of sanctuary design in both rock-cut and built churches in this area. This sanctuary design continued to be used throughout Middle Byzantine architecture in this region.

Sanctuary furnishings, as is seen in Chapel 3, included the chancel screen, the cubical altar, the synthronon, and the prothesis niche. The sanctuary is separated from the nave by a low parapet screen consisting of carved rectangular panels flanking a central passageway. This type of sanctuary screen is the most frequent among the rock-cut churches.[16] Side by side with the low-parapet screens, however, are sanctuaries with high screens also found in churches attributed to this period. In addition to the square panels, these churches have colonnettes supporting an architrave. This type of templon screen is seen in Durmuş Kadir Kilisesi in Avcılar (ill. 2).[17] Although Epstein suggested that high sanctuary enclosures were used only in Middle Byzantine Cappadocian churches,[18] the presence of the high templon screen in Durmuş Kadir Kilisesi suggests that these two types of sanctuary screen already existed in the early Christian period. In addition to the types already discussed, we find sanctuaries without any screen, as in Chapel 4 (Üzümlü Kilise) in Zelve (ill. 3).[19] The existence of both open and closed sanctuary design in early

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[14] For examples in built churches: Restle, *Studien*, II, plans 3, 7, 11-12, 14, 20.

[15] Mathews, *Churches*, 106-7.

[16] For examples of low parapet screens in Church 6 in Bezir Hane, Church 6 in Şahinefendi Monastery, Soğanlı Han church, Selime basilica, Direkli Kilise in Belisirma, Eski Gumuş, Chapel 28 (Yılanlı Kilise), Chapel 20 (St. Barbara), Chapel 19 (Elmalı Kilise) and Chapel 18, all in Göreme, Karabaş Kilise in Soğanlı, Chapel 7 (The New Tokalı Kilise) and Chapel under Tokalı in Göreme, see Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, 29, 39, 47, 70, ill. 60, 89, ill. 80, 115, 173, 175, 176, 178, 195, 196, 208, 216, 219, 228.

[17] Thierry, "Quelques monuments," 10, 11, figs. 5, 6; *Arts of Cappadocia*, 94, fig. 49.

[18] Epstein, "Barrier," 1-28. On examples of high templon screens in Syria: Lassus, *Sanctuaires*, 203-204 and figs. 86, 89. Remains of a high templon screen are found in the rock-cut basilica in Mydie, Thrace: Eyice, Thierry, "Le monastère," figs. 9, 12. On the low and high parapet screens in Early and Middle Byzantine churches cf. Shmerling, *Malye formy*, 26-58; Mango, "*Templon*," 40-43.

[19] Jerphanion, I, 586-588; *Arts of Cappadocia*, 142-144, ph. 37, Plan 3 (4), 201.

Christian churches in Cappadocia has been overlooked, together with the concept of continuity in the local development of the sanctuary barrier.

Returning to Chapel 3, a carved cubical altar is located at the center of the sanctuary, close to the apse wall. This altar type and location is consistent throughout the rock-cut churches. In some churches, however, the altar is adjacent to the center of the apse wall, as, for instance in the lateral apses of the above mentioned Chapel 4 (Üzümlü Kilise).[20]

Chapel 3 is also furnished with a one-step bench that runs along the apse wall. This bench, a reduced version of the many-stepped synthronon, is commonly found in the early Christian rock-cut churches in Cappadocia, for example: Chapel 6 in Zelve, Chapel 3 in Güllü Dere, St. John in Çavuşın, and Durmuş Kadir Kilisesi in Avcılar (pl. 3, ill. 4). The basilicas of St. John and Durmuş Kadir have a synthonon with a bishop's throne (cathedra) at the center. The low bench was used side by side with the many-stepped synthronon in churches throughout Byzantium during this period. Similar benches can be found in the early Christian churches in Greece, Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, and Georgia.[21] The presence of the low-bench synthronon in Cappadocian churches of various sizes suggests that the reduced size of this seating unit may correspond to a diminution in the number of clergy.

The prothesis niche is another important component of sanctuary furnishing. In Chapel 3 it is located to the north of the altar, measuring 30 by 40 cm. Here the paten with the holy bread (prosphora) and the chalice were prepared for the Eucharist. The location of this niche in the sanctuary, however, is relatively rare in Cappadocian rock-cut churches.[22] In the majority, the prothesis niche is placed within the north wall, but outside of the sanctuary, and therefore it will be discussed later in this study.

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[20] *Arts of Cappadocia*, ph. 37.

[21] For examples of synthronon benches in the churches of Naxos in Greece, see Chatzidakis et al., *Naxos*, 12 and fig. 1; 33, and fig. 3; 35 and fig. 7; in the fifth- and sixth-century churches of the Alahan monastery in Cilicia, see Gough, *Alahan*, figs. 62, 65; in Palestinian churches, see Crowfoot, *Churches*, 70 ff. and fig. 14; Krautheimer, *Architecture*, figs. 50, 122 and 259; in the Georgian church of Tsromi, see Mepisashvili, Tsintsadze, *The Arts*, ills. pp. 90, 92.

[22] This niche is not found in other early churches in Cappadocia. It is, however, found in a number of Middle Byzantine churches, e.g., the early tenth-century churches of the Holy Apostles in Mustafapaşa, Tavşanlı Kilise near Ortahisar, and Karş Kilise (1212) in Gülşehir. In the ninth-century chapel of St. Stephen in Cemil one can see that it was made at a later time because it cuts into the painted surface of the apse wall. A few such later niches can be found in other churches as well.

In sum, the liturgical furnishings of Chapel 3 were suitable for a small early Christian chapel. The pattern of its sanctuary reappears, with some variations, in churches of the Middle Byzantine period. In the small single-nave ninth-century Açikel Ăga Kilisesi in the Peristrema valley,[23] or in the early tenth-century St. Simeon in Zelve,[24] as well as in many chapels in Göreme, Ihlara, Soğanlı, Mustafapaşa, and Zelve, there is a continuous tradition of similar sanctuary construction and furnishing. The difference in the Middle Byzantine period is that in the majority of churches the synthronon-bench is either considerably reduced or omitted. There are, however, several churches still using the synthronon-bench in their sanctuaries as, for instance, the tenth-century churches of El Nazar, Tokalı Kilise, Chapel 4a, all in Göreme, Haçlı Kilise in Kızıl Çukur, Yılanlı and Bahatin Kilise in Belisırma, Karabaş Kilise in Soğanlı, and the churches at Kepez (ill. 5).[25] The presence of the cathedra at the center of the synthronon in Haçlı Kilise or Karabaş Kilise shows that this component of the furnishings is also occasionally included. Although the synthronon with or without a bishop's throne appeared in a number of Cappadocian rock-cut churches of the Middle Byzantine period, it is clear that it was out of fashion. Instead, two semicircular seats for the clergy were often attached next to the wall or carved within the wall on one or both sides of the apse. A good example of this new trend in the liturgical furnishing of Cappadocian churches can be seen in the central apse in the New Tokalı Kilise (pl. 4, ill. 6).[26] Here the synthronon is located in a small recess which could not be used for seating. Its center is interrupted by a semicircular niche symbolically representing a cathedra. At the same time two individual rectangular chairs are carved on both sides of the apse wall. The chairs undoubtly substituted for the synthronon. The evidence for the limited use of the synthronon in churches of the Byzantine provinces during the Iconoclast period and its gradual disappear-

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[23] Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 327, with bibliography, pl. 182; *Arts of Cappadocia*, 149, fig. 82.

[24] Jolivet-Lévy, ibid., 7-12, with bibliography, pl. 19; *Arts of Cappadocia*, phs. 39-40.

[25] For El Nazar see Restle, *Wall Painting*, II, pl. I; for Chapel 7 (Tokalı Kilise) see ibid, pl. X; for Chapel 4a see ibid, pl. IV; for Haçlı Kilise see Restele *Wall Painting* I, plan on p.145; for Bahatin Kilise see Restle, *Wall Painting* III, pl. LXI; for the Forty Martyrs see ibid, XLV; pls. LVII, LXI; for Kepez churches see Wallace, "Some Cappadocian Churches," 27-38.

[26] For illustration, see Epstein, *Tokalı Kilise*, ill. 48; *Arts of Cappadocia*, 95 and fig. 50.

ance has been presented recently by Ruggieri.[27] Although it is rare, a one-step or many-stepped synthronon was also used continuously in some churches in Asia Minor,[28] Greece,[29] Georgia,[30] the Balkans,[31] and Russia[32] throughout Middle Byzantine times. The gradual disappearance of the synthronon, and the creation of one or two individual seats for the clergy, are indications of the reduction in the size of the Middle Byzantine sanctuary in general, especially in the monastic region of Cappadocia.[33]

In the single-nave Cappadocian sanctuary a very restricted space was reserved for the celebration of the liturgy. This space included the apse-bema with or without sanctuary screen.

Cruciform Churches

Cruciform churches exhibit liturgical arrangements of their sanctuaries similar to those of single-nave churches.[34] In the case of the cruciform plan, the eastern arm of the naos terminates in the horseshoe-shaped apse bema. As in single-nave churches, the apses of cruciform examples are furnished with an altar, presbyters' chairs, and a low or high sanctuary screen; churches without any sanctuary screen can also be found. The prothesis niche, in most cases, is outside the sanctuary.

Unfortunately, the two early cruciform churches do not preserve any evidence of the furnishing of their sanctuaries. Church No. 1 of Balkan

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[27] Ruggieri, *Architecture*, 136, for further references, see 285.

[28] For an example, in the church of the Archangels (ca. 780) in Sige, see Buchwald, *Church*, 11, pl. VIIII, fig. 34; for the use of the synthronon in the Lycian church of St. Nicholas in Myra and the church in Andriake, see Feld, Peschlow, "Byzantinische Studien," 330-332, ills. 39. 61, pl. 56(d).

[29] For examples of the synthronon in the Middle Byzantine churches at Naxos, see Chatzidakis et al., *Naxos*, 12 and fig. 1; 33, and fig. 3; 35 and fig. 7. For the thirteenth-century church at Trebizond, see Mango, *Architecture*, pl. 318. For the cathedral at Kalambaka near Meteora, see ibid., 114. The synthonon, however, was not published.

[30] It is found in the eleventh-century church in Betania, the twelfth-century Gelati, Ikorta, Cathedral in Mcheta, and others, see Alpago-Novello, *Architecture*, plans on pp. 296, 329, 349, 396.

[31] For the basilica at Pliska and the Round Church at Preslav, see Mango, *Architecture*, 300-305, pls. 325, 326. See also Teteriatnikov, "Bulgaria," forthcoming.

[32] For Hagia Sophia in Kiev see Mango, *Architecture*, pl. 358.

[33] This further supports Mathews' suggestion that the Middle Byzantine church changed in the direction of miniaturization and privatization of church architecture (Mathews, "'Private' Liturgy," 125).

[34] *Arts of Cappadocia*, 87, figs. 38-41; Restle, "Kappadokien," cols. 1006-1027.

Dere near Ortahisar has been attributed to the sixth century.[35] The apse at the eastern end of this church is completely demolished, together with the walls of the south arm. The east wall of the north arm does not have a prothesis niche. The only seating place for some of the members of the church's community is cut within the eastern wall. The same situation exists in the so-called cruciform Domed Hall in Balkan Dere, near Ortahisar, roughly dated to the same period.[36] Nothing has survived from it, and no niches are found on the eastern walls of the north and south arms. The north part of the arch opening still remains and is outlined with a groove-like molding. No traces of the sanctuary barrier are found on the sanctuary arch or the pavement, which suggests that this sanctuary had no screen. The absence of the prothesis niche outside of the apse in both churches implies that it might have been included within the apse wall in the manner of Güzelöz 3. Although these two churches have lost their sanctuaries, other church buildings of this type are known from the Middle Byzantine period.

The earliest example of a cruciform domed church is Chapel 6 in Güzelöz (Mavrucan), probably dated to the second half of the ninth century.[37] A large horseshoe-shaped apse opens to the nave through a semicircular arch, and no sanctuary barrier exists. The prothesis niche is found in the eastern wall of the north arm of the naos (ill. 7). This niche is original, since the plaster and painted decoration are contemporary with the frescoes. The location of this niche is not unique. A similar disposition of the prothesis niche is also found in the eleventh-century Yılanlı Kilise in the Ihlara valley (ill. 8).[38] Another group of cruciform churches exhibit it in the north wall of the eastern arm of the naos, just to the north of the sanctuary, as, for instance, in the eleventh-century churches of Göreme such as chapels 16a, 21 and others.[39]

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[35] Thierry dates this church around the sixth century in her article "Peintures paléochrétiennes," *Synthronon*, 53-59. The same dating was made by Kostof (*Caves*, 262, cat. no. 1). Epstein dates this church to the end of the ninth century ("The 'Iconoclast' Churches," 103 and note 6, 111, fig. 27, with bibliography).

[36] *Arts of Cappadocia*, 199, plan 2 (5a) and ph. 72. This church has not yet been studied. On its dating: Teteriatnikov, "Domed Hall;" eadem, "Early Churches."

[37] Jerphanion and Thierry attributed this church to the pre-Iconoclast period: Jerphanion, II, 206-234; Thierry, "Peintures pré-iconoclastes en Cappadoce," 371 and note 1. Cf. *Arts of Cappadocia*, 204, plan 5(6). The developed fresco program of this chapel is typical of post-Iconoclast churches.

[38] Restle, *Wall Painting*, I, 173-174; III, pl. LVII.

[39] The only plan of chapel 21, published by Restle (*Wall Painting*, I, 126-127, plan p. 127), does not, however, include the prothesis niche.

2. Multiple Sanctuary Arrangement

The above-discussed sanctuary design and furnishing of the single nave church was often multiplied and incorporated within different types of church plans.

There are several types of multiple sanctuary arrangements that can be identified in Cappadocian rock-cut church architecture. (1) The first group of churches is characterized by the multiplication of naves, so that there are as many naves as there are sanctuaries. These churches can be identified as double- or triple-nave churches. (2) The second group can be distinguished by the multiplication of similarly designed and furnished sanctuaries joined in the same nave. This group also includes churches with a central apse-sanctuary and lateral reduced-size apsidioles which served as additional altars.

The Double- and Triple-Nave Churches

Double- or triple-nave rock-cut churches in Cappadocia consist of single-nave chapels joined together.[40] Their architectural design, size, and relation to one another, however, was modified from early Christian to Middle Byzantine times.

The earliest example of the double-nave church is Chapel 4 (Üzümlü Kilise) at Zelve (ill. 3). The date of this church is uncertain, but it can be generally dated to the sixth or seventh century.[41] This chapel consists of two isolated rectangular naves with flat ceilings and sanctuaries independently furnished for the liturgy. Both naves are separated from each other by a wall, and they can be entered from the outside through a rectangular doorway placed off-center toward the west. A double semicircular window is cut into this wall between the doorway and the sanctuaries. The sanctuary of the north nave is simply opened to the nave through an arch, and it is provided with altar and two presbyters' seats. On the contrary, the south nave has a more complex sanctuary arrangement. It consists of a semicircular apse furnished with four presbyters' chairs, two on each side. The arch opening of the apse shows no trace of a sanctuary

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[40] For the double-nave churches in Cappadocia, see Ötüken, "Zweischiffige Kirchen," 543-552 with bibliography, esp. 548-549; *Arts of Cappadocia*, 94; see also Restle, "Kappadokien," col. 1001, and fig. 15, with bibliography.

[41] Jerphanion attributed this church to the Iconoclast period on the basis of its decoration with painted crosses (Jerphanion, II, 412). Cf. Thierry, "Monuments," 58, 59, fig. 7; Teteriatnikov, "Domed Hall," 36-37; eadem, "Early Churches." For illustration, see *Arts of Cappadocia*, pl. 37; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 5-7 with bibliography.

screen. In addition to this central apse, two apsidioles were placed on either side. Each apsidiole is provided with its own cubical altar. The purpose and function of the multiple sanctuary arrangement in the south nave will be discussed later in this chapter. On examining the furnishing of both naves in this double-nave church, it becomes apparent that each nave functioned as a separate chapel. The south nave was probably the main chapel. It is larger in size and is provided with three sanctuaries at the eastern end. The purpose of the north chapel is still unclear; it might have been used as a private chapel for the clergy. This chapel has no doorway in its western wall, and can be entered only through a doorway in the north wall of the south chapel. At the same time, only the south chapel has access from the outside, through a doorway in its western wall. Moreover, the fresco painting in the apse of the north chapel represents the figure of a bishop surrounded by the ornamental design of grapes, a eucharistic symbol. In addition, a monogram of a donor (probably of this painting) is found to the left of the bishop's portrait. It has been dated to the tenth century on the basis of its paleography.[42] The painting is executed in a primitive manner which makes dating it difficult. It seems possible, however, that the donor of the bishop's portrait was a member of the clergy of this church. The isolation of this chapel from the outside as well as the commission of a bishop's portrait indicate that the north nave of this chapel might have been used by the clergy of this church. It may have been prepared initially as a burial chapel, though no graves have been found in its pavement.

It is significant that this type of double-nave church existed in Cappadocia in this period. Churches of this plan were also constructed elsewhere in Byzantium. Double or triple churches were also common in Mesopotamia.[43] Chubinashvili's study of the Georgian architecture of Kchachetii further clarifies that this type of church, together with three-nave churches, was continuously used in Georgia and Armenia from the sixth century throughout the Middle Byzantine period.[44] Sodini's recent

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[42] Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 5-7 with bibliography, pl. 17, fig. 2.

[43] On the churches of Mar Kyriakos, Mar Azaziel, and Mar Philoxenos in Tur Abdin, see Bell, "Tur Abdin," 15-17, 44, 51, figs. 9, 29, 36. For other examples of double-nave churches in Mesopotamia, see Deichmann, Peschlow, *Nordmesopotamien*, 17-28. For Hisarkoy and Ehnes, see H. Hellenkemper, "Kirchen und Klöster in der nordlichen Euphratesia," *Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasiens. Festschrift für F.K. Dorner*, I (Leiden 1978) 379-414, ills. 7-9.

[44] G.Kh. Chubinashvili, *Arkhitektura Kakhetii* (Tbilisi 1959) 141-200. Double-nave churches have also been recorded in Armenia, as for instance the eleventh-century

study well illustrates the widespread construction of double basilicas in the area of Aliki and all over the Mediterranean, including Illyricum, Greece, Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt and North Africa.[45] In Cappadocia, the double- or triple-nave plan was commonly used among churches of the so-called "archaic group" and throughout the Middle Byzantine period. The architectural planning of their sanctuary design, however, underwent some alterations during the latter period.

In the Middle Byzantine period the two naves were usually divided by an open arcade. This arrangement makes both naves easily accessible to one another. Churches such as Chapel 4 (Ayvalı Kilise) in Güllü Dere, dated to the ninth and early tenth century, still had their two naves communicating through a doorway (pl. 5, ill. 9).[46] In the case of Ayvalı, both naves can be entered from outside through doors in their western walls. In spite of the occasional appearance of such an arrangement, an open arcade separating both naves of the double-nave church became a common stylistic and functional component of the church design. Such an open arcade was employed for both private and funeral chapels and so-called parekklesia.

A parekklesion can be seen in the double-nave ninth-century church of St. Basil in Mustafapaşa (ill. 10).[47] Both naves of this chapel are almost identical in the design and furnishing of their sanctuaries. Both sanctuaries are provided with altars, presbyters' chairs and low parapet screens. Even small carved reliquaries are found in the front side of both altars. The naves are rectangular, elongated rooms of the same length. The south nave, however, is decorated with frescoes, whereas the north is left unfinished. Because there are no graves found in its pavement, its function remains unclear. The second chapel might have been prepared as a

church at Sori, see N. Thierry, "Monastères arméniens du Vaspurakan," REArm X (1973-1974) 230 and fig. 39 (b); Cuneo, *Architettura*, 23.

[45] Sodini, Kolokotsas, *Aliki* I, esp., 253-312, with bibliography.

[46] Thierry, "Ayvalı Kilise," 97-154 and fig. 1. The frescoes of this church are dated by an inscription (ca. A.D. 913-920). These frescoes belong to the second layer. A first layer of frescoes is partially visible in various parts of the church's walls. They are difficult to date, but were probably made sometime in the second part of the 9th century. Jolivet-Lévy attributed the architecture and the first layer of paint to the seventh century without any evidence (*Églises*, 37-44, with bibliography).

[47] Epstein attributes this church to the end of the ninth century ("The 'Iconoclast' Churches," 103-111, especially 109). Several scholars have dated this church to the Iconoclast period on the basis of its cross decoration: Grégoire, "Rapport," 91, 92; Jerphanion, II, 105-111, 413; Thierry, "Mentalité et formulation iconoclastes," 81-119; eadem, "Peintures," 379; Teteriatnikov, "St. Basil," 99-114.

burial site but was never used. Undecorated funeral chapels are very common in Cappadocia. Almost identical undecorated funeral chapels or parekklesia are seen in the mid-tenth-century church of St. Eustathius in Göreme, the early tenth-century Timios Stavros in Mustafapaşa, as well as many others where graves are found.[48] The popularity of such a design was heightened by the simplicity and flexibility of its architecture. The church could be easily enlarged by carving an additional nave-chapel. The main sanctuary could be used for regular church services, with the secondary one then serving as a private chapel or a funeral chapel for commemoration of the dead.

Alongside the double- or triple-nave churches, single-nave churches with multiple sanctuaries can also be found in different church plans. There are two types of these multiple sanctuary arrangements: (1) multiplication of similarly furnished and designed apses and (2) an arrangement which consists of a central apse and one or two lateral apsidioles (pls. 1, 6). An apsidiole is a diminutive version of an apse. The bottom of an apsidiole is at the same height as an altar and thus can be used as such.

Basilicas

St John in Çavuşin attributed to the fifth or sixth century is the earliest surviving rock-cut church in Cappadocia (pl. 7, ill. 11).[49] The huge three-nave basilica with a colonnaded portico is also the largest among churches of this period. Its eastern end terminates in two horseshoe-shaped apses facing the central and north aisles. As in other Cappadocian churches of the Early and Middle Byzantine period, each apse of St. John's basilica accommodates a single bema. Both apses are independent of each other and both have one-step synthronon benches, which implies that they were used as separate sanctuaries. Moreover, the central nave is

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[48] On St. Eustathius: Jerphanion, Plates II, pl. 28; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 112-116, with bibliography, pl. 70. On the church of the Holy Apostles in Mustafapaşa, see Restle, *Wall Painting*, III, pl. XL; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 179-182 with bibliography, pl. 108. The tenth-century churches in Soğanlı such as Münşil, Geik, Kubelli I, II, III, and the church of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste in Şahinefendi (Söviş) (ca. 1216/17), have similar plans: see Restle *Wall Painting*, II, pl. XIII; III, pls. XXXIII, XL, LIV; Restle, "Kappadokien," col. 1001; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 205, 257, 263-270, with bibliography.

[49] Jerphanion, I, 511-519, and fig. 57; Thierry, "La basilique de Saint Jean," 198-213; eadem, "Quelques monuments," 9, figs. 3, 4; Thierry, "Un problème de continuité," 134, fig. 34; eadem, *Haut Moyen Âge*, 59-71 and figs. 23, 24; pls. 19-23; *Arts of Cappadocia*, 88 and fig. 45; Teteriatnikov, "Domed Hall," 36-37.

separated from the north and south aisles by a colonnaded arcade with a low-parapet screen. Thus the central and north aisles do not communicate with each other by means of doorways. They both can be independently entered from their western walls, from the portico connecting both aisles. The interior of all three aisles can be easily seen through the open colonnaded arcade. Both sanctuaries, however, have a very similar design and purpose. Both have a horseshoe-shaped plan, and they functioned as a single bema. They are raised above the floor level, and are both provided with one-step synthronon benches. The one in the central apse is still there, but that in the north apse was demolished though traces of it are still visible on the apse wall.

The central apse is furnished with a synthronon (ills. 4, 11, 12) with the cathedra in its center. In front of the latter is a large opening excavated in the pavement in the shape of a cross. It is 1.5 m. long, 1.2 m. wide, and 0.70 m. in depth. Its recessed edges indicated that originally it was covered by a lid. The measuments of this opening, its shape, and its significant location suggest that it contained a reliquary. Although it is clear that the central apse was the main sanctuary, the existence of the synthronon in both sanctuaries and the isolation of both aisles from each other indicate that both apses were used separately.

The basilica of Durmuş Kadir in Avcılar, attributed to the pre-Iconoclast period,[50] also incorporates three independently furnished sanctuaries. The basilica-type, proportion, carving, and the presence of the carved ambo at the center of this church indicate that it was constructed sometime in the sixth or seventh century (pl. 3, ill. 2). Unfortunately, the north wall collapsed some time ago and was built *de novo*, leaving no evidence of its original entrance. It seems, however, that the original entrance to the church was from the north wall of the narthex. A row of massive pillars divided it into three naves, each nave preceded by its own sanctuary at the eastern end. The central apse has a small one-step bench-like synthronon, with a bishop's throne at the center. The apse is raised high above floor level, and a high templon screen separates the sanctuary from the nave. At the center of the nave there is a carved ambo attached to the steps of the sanctuary. Its ample size and its physical appearance immediately focus the attention of everyone entering the church. The plan of the ambo and its orientation is similar to the known examples

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[50] Thierry, *Monuments*, 13; eadem, "Un problème de continuité," 134, fig. 33; Thierry, "Quelques monuments," 10, 11, and fig. 5; *Arts of Cappadocia*, 94, 95, and fig. 49; Teteriatnikov, "Domed Hall," 36-37.

from Constantinople — an elongated platform elevated above the nave by seven steps that rise on each side and on the central axis of the church.[51] Moreover, the ambo is connected with the entrance to the sanctuary through a little narrow platform solea 1 m. long. The ambo itself, measuring 2.8 m., was left without any decoration. Nevertheless, this ambo is the best surviving *in situ* example from Cappadocian churches as well as those of Constantinople and Asia Minor.[52] The only surviving example of the ambo, in the church of Kalambaka in Greece, is made of early Christian *spolia*.[53]

The lateral apses of the Durmuş Kadir basilica are of reduced size and correspond to the side aisles. Each apse has a similar horseshoe-shape plan and steps leading toward a rock-cut altar attached to the apse wall. On both sides of each apse there are carved individual chairs for the clergy. Although the central apse is distinguished by a synthronon and a high templon screen, the lateral sanctuaries were also provided for the liturgy with an altar and presbyters' chairs. Thus, two of these early basilicas show a multiplication of sanctuaries within the same church during the early Christian period in Cappadocia. Unfortunately very few examples of this type now survive in this area. In order better to understand the Cappadocian sanctuary planning during this period, it will be useful briefly to examine the architectural arrangements of sanctuaries in the countries of the Christian East where similar trends in sanctuary design are found.

Although they are different in architectural planning as well as local techniques of execution, churches in Syria, Mesopotamia, Palestine, Egypt, and Armenia and Georgia display a similar pattern in the disposition of several sanctuaries at the eastern end. For example, the Syrian church of Mar Gabriel in Tur 'Abdin (c. 512) is of a transverse plan with three rectangular sanctuaries in line (pl. 8).[54] All of the sanctuaries face the same nave and are easily observed by the viewer. Each sanctuary is a rectangular space that is furnished with an altar and has access to the nave through a door. Other Mesopotamian churches such as Mar Ibra-

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[51] Mathews, *Churches*, 70. A medieval example of an ambo still survives in the church at Kalambaka: see Mango, *Architecture*, 114, pl. 132; for the use of the ambo in St. Nicholas in Myra, see Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler* 336, ills. 123-124; Feld, Peschlow, "Byzantinische Studien," 332-334 with further bibliography. For other examples, Jakobs, *Ambone*, 132-142.

[52] For various examples of the Middle Byzantine ambo see Jakobs, ibid., 132-142.

[53] Mango, *Architecture*, 114, pl. 132.

[54] Bell, *Churches*, 6-10, and fig. 5; Krautheimer, *Architecture*, 318-320, and fig. 262.

him and Mar Ubil near Midyat, Mar Ya'qub Habisha in Salah, and Mar Cyriacus near Zargel have a similar sanctuary plan, as have many other Syrian churches.[55]

It has been suggested that Coptic churches in Egypt inherited their tripartite sanctuary arrangement at the eastern end from Syrian communities in Mesopotamia.[56] In any case, the sixth-century church of Deir Abu Hennes already possessed a central sanctuary with lateral rectangular chambers.[57] From the seventh and eighth centuries, a multiple sanctuary arrangement can be found in various basilica-type churches in this area.[58] Thus the formal planning of several sanctuaries in the churches of different geographic regions seems to develop a phenomenon parallel to what we observed in Cappadocia.

Let us now turn to the churches of Middle Byzantine Cappadocia. Because of the constant Arab invasions, the prohibition on building churches in territories occupied by Muslims, and increased taxation on parishes and individual monks, the development of churches was hindered during this period.[59] Some churches in this area have been attributed to the Iconoclast period primarily on the basis of their aniconic decoration.[60] The evidence, however, is inconclusive owing to the fact

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[55] Bell, *Churches*, 35-38 and fig. 23, 39-44 and fig. 25, 135-136 and fig. 54.

[56] Krautheimer, *Architecture*, 323.

[57] S. Clarke, *Christian Antiquities in the Nile Valley* (Oxford 1912) 181-187, pl. LV. For Der-el-Abiad see Krautheimer, *Architecture*, 119-124, fig. 69.

[58] Walters, *Archaeology*, 40, 41.

[59] H. Turtledove, tr. *The Chronicle of Theophanes* (Philadelphia 1982) 119. This includes information about Arabs' attitudes toward Christians in the occupied territory as well as about Cappadocia:

"Theodore the patriarch of Antioch was exiled. Because of the Arabs' jealousy, they falsely accused him of revealing their affairs to the Emperor Constantine by letters. Salim put him in an out-of-the-way place: the land of the Moabites, which was also his native land. Salim also commanded that no new churches should be built, that the cross should not be displayed, and that Christians should not enter into religious discussions with Arabs. He attacked Romania with 80,000 men but after he had entered Kappadokia he heard Constantine was arming against him."

After the following year 758 the *Chronicle* informs us:

"In this year Abd Allah increased the taxes on the Christians, so that all monks, solitary monks, and pillar-sitters (who are pleasing to God) had to pay taxes. He also sealed the churches' treasures and brought in Hebrews to sell them: they were purchased by freedmen."

[60] St. Basil in Mustafapaşa, St. Stephen in Cemil, Chapels 3 and 5 in Güllü Dere, the Chapel in Karşi Becak, St. Niketas the Stylite near Ortahisar, and the Chapel of Joachim and Anna and Haçlı Kilise, both in Kızıl Çukur, are major churches which have been attributed by some scholars to the Iconoclast period: Jerphanion, II, 412,

that no dated churches from this period exist, and more work has to be undertaken to identify them on the basis of their architectural style and decoration. There is also very little preserved from other regions of Byzantium from this period. A survey of church architecture of this period has recently been presented by Ruggieri.[61] The surviving examples of the ninth and early tenth centuries, however, demonstrate that their sanctuary arrangement bore features similar to that of the early Christian period.

Some changes in church planning occurred in the Middle Byzantine period. In general, basilica-type churches such as Durmuş Kadir or St. John in Çavuşın fell out of fashion. Basilicas, however, continued to be commissioned in this region during the tenth century and eleventh century. The most distinct examples are the basilica in Selime, Kubelli Kilise I in Soğanlı, and the funeral chapel under the Tokalı Kilise in Göreme and others (pl. 9).[62] The majority of churches display a variety of plans; all show a general tendency toward a rather compact interior space, allowing the sanctuaries to be closer to the viewer.

Single-Nave Churches

The most common single-nave church is usually provided with a single apse at the eastern end. A greater number of churches of a larger size may incorporate three sanctuaries as well.

The so-called Pigeon House church in Çavuşın, dated to the middle of the tenth century, has three apses opening onto the same nave (ill. 13).[63]

413; Thierry, "Mentalité et formulation iconoclastes," 81-119; eadem, "Les peintures de six églises du haut moyen âge en Cappadoce," CRAI (1970, 1971) 444-79; eadem, "L'iconoclasme en Cappadoce d'après les sources archéologiques. Origines et modalités," *Rayonnement grec: Hommages à Charles Delvoye* (Bruxelles 1982) 389-403; Lafontaine-Dosogne, "L'église aux trois croix," 175-207; Lafontaine-Dosogne, "Problématique," 321-337, with further bibliography; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 37, 44, 45, 70, 161, 184 with further bibliography; Schiemenz, "Ortachisar," 239-258. Cf. Epstein, "Iconoclast Churches," 103-111; Teteriatnikov, "St. Basil," 99-114.

[61] Ruggieri, *Architecture*, 187-270.

[62] For basilica-type churches, see Restle, "Kappadokien," cols. 980-992. For the date of the chapel under Tokalı Kilise, see Epstein, *The Date and Context*, 60, 61, and her monograph, *Tokalı Kilise*, 4-10, figs. 3a, 9-11. For its plan, Teteriatnikov, "Burial Places," fig. 8. On the basilica in Selime: Thierry, "Études cappadociènnes," 184; Lafontaine-Dosogne, "Nouvelles notes," 174-176 eadem, "Kale Kilisesi," 741-753.

[63] Jerphanion I, 520-550; Cormack, "Byzantine Cappadocia," 19-36; Epstein, "Rock-cut Chapels," 124-126; Restle, *Wall Painting*, I, 30-36, III, ill. 303; Thierry, *Haut Moyen Âge*, 43-57; *Arts of Cappadocia*, 201, plan 3 (9); Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 15-22, pl. 21 with bibliography.

None of them show the presence of the sanctuary enclosure. While the central one dominates the others by virtue of its height (1.2 m) and width, all of them served as sanctuaries. The altar in the central apse is missing, but the lateral apses were provided with cubical altars joined to the center of the apse wall. In addition, one cubical rock-cut seat is extended from the south wall of the central sanctuary wall. Because all three sanctuaries had altars, the side apses could not be interpreted as prothesis and diakonikon rooms. They are very small, and no places are found for storing church vessels or vestments.

Cross-in-Square Churches

The cross-in-square church plan appeared in Cappadocia only in the Middle Byzantine period and was as popular in this area as it was elsewhere in Byzantium.[64] Its eastern end, however, was altered to accommodate the local multi-sanctuary design. There are many churches of this type found in Cappadocia dating from the tenth to the thirteenth century.[65] The earliest church, Kılıçlar Kilise (ca. 900) in the Göreme valley, already shows that instead of pastophoria rooms, as in the churches of Constantinople, there are three apses similarly designed and furnished for the liturgy with altars (pl. 1, ills. 14, 15).[66] The altar of the central apse is now destroyed, but those in the lateral apses are *in situ*. The prothesis niche is set in the eastern part of the north wall and might have served all three sanctuaries. Corresponding to the plan, the central apse facing the central nave is larger than the side ones, and thus, as in most Cappadocian churches, it served as the main sanctuary. This sanctuary design was consistently developed in Cappadocian church architec-

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[64] *Arts of Cappadocia*, 96, 102; Restle, "Kappadokien," cols. 1028-1038; Epstein, "Rock-cut Chapels," 115-135; eadem, "The Fresco Decoration," 27; Rodley interprets this type of plan as an inscribed-cross plan: cf. Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, 20-22, 29-31, 38-39, 43-45, 47-48, 52-53, 88-89, 100-101, 112-114, 119-120, 134, 146, 152, 164, 169-170, 175, 176, 181, 227-235.

[65] Hallaç and Bezir Hane, Şahinefendi, Soğanlı Han, Aynalı Direkli, Karanlık Kale, Açik Saray nos. 2 and 3 monasteries, for illustration and bibliography, see Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, 11-27, and figs. 2, 5, 33 and fig. 6; 49, 56, 57, fig. 11; 63-65, and fig. 13, 85-89, and fig. 15; 95-99, and fig. 16; 103-116, and fig. 17; 132-146, figs. 21, 27.

[66] H. Grégoire, "Rapport sur un voyage d'exploration dans le Pont et en Cappadoce," BCH 34 (1910) 96-109; Jerphanion, I, 199-242; Swoboda, "Erschienene Werke," 126; Cormack, "Byzantine Cappadocia," 33-34; Restle, *Wall Painting*, I, 131-134, II, pl. XXIV, ill. 251; Kostof, *Caves*, 123, 209, 210, 223, cat. no. 37; Epstein, *The Date and Context*, 14-51.

ture up to the eleventh century. The eleventh-century churches of Göreme, such as Chapel 20 (St. Barbara), Chapel 22 (Çarıklı Kilise), Chapel 23 (Karanlık Kilise), Chapel 25, as well as many other churches of this region, demonstrate continuous use of this sanctuary pattern (ill. 16).[67] Notably, most of these cross-in-square churches belong to monastic complexes.[68]

Cruciform Churches

In contrast to the arrangement in cross-in-square type churches, cruciform churches have subsidiary sanctuaries removed from the line of the central one.[69] In the eleventh-century cruciform Chapel 27 in the Göreme valley, the central sanctuary extends from the eastern arm, whereas two additional ones are attached to the eastern walls of the north and south arms of this church (pl. 1).[70] In this case each sanctuary is completely isolated. Thus each arm of the cruciform plan creates a separate unit for liturgical use near each apse. In another cruciform church, Chapel A in Zelve, only two sanctuaries were commissioned.[71] The architects therefore constructed the second sanctuary in the eastern wall of the north arm. The eastern arm of the church is terminated by the central sanctuary, while the south one is left without any liturgical furnishing. A somewhat reversed plan for the second sanctuary is found in the mid-tenth-century cruciform church of El Nazar in Göreme (ill. 17).[72] In addition to the large and spacious central apse-bema, there is a small one integrated into the eastern wall of the south arm. This small lateral sanctuary is open to the nave and is furnished with an altar. As a counterpart to it, there is a small private chapel attached to the eastern wall of the north arm of this church. This chapel is two meters long and is com-

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[67] Restle, *Wall Painting*, II, pls. XVIII, XXII; Restle, "Kappadokien," cols. 1030-1034, figs. 32, 33. A plan of Chapel 25 has not been published. For other examples see Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, list in note 64, above.

[68] Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, list in note 67, above.

[69] *Arts of Cappadocia*, 87, figs. 338-341; Restle, "Kappadokien," cols. 1024-1026; Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, 147, 170-172, 181-182.

[70] Jerphanion, Plates II, pl. 136; Kostof, *Caves*, 108 and fig. 15; *Arts of Cappadocia*, 99, ph. 48.

[71] Jerphanion, Plates II, pl. 136.

[72] Jerphanion, I, 177-198; Swoboda, "Erschienene Werke," 124; Restle, *Wall Painting*, I, 28-30, 101-103 and plan II, fig. I; Kostof, *Caves*, 109, 178, cat. no. 25. For more substantial evidence for mid-tenth-century dating, see Epstein, *The Date and Context*, 24-27.

pletely isolated from the nave; only the doorway in the western wall makes it accessible to the naos. In addition, a one-meter-deep rectangular container, probably for water, is carved in the pavement in the northwestern corner.

Transverse-Nave Churches

A more suitable arrangement of accessibility for several sanctuaries at the eastern end of the church is provided by the transverse-nave plan. This plan type, perhaps Syrian in origin, became popular in Cappadocian churches of the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries.[73]

The early tenth-century chapel under Old Tokalı Kilise, the middle tenth-century New Tokalı, and the eleventh-century Chapel 33 (Meryemana) in the Göreme valley are the most interesting examples of this sanctuary arrangement (pls. 4, 9, 10, ills. 18, 19).[74] Scholars have suggested that the architectural design in Chapel 33 (Meryemana) was a direct inspiration from the New Tokalı Kilise.[75] Indeed, there are no other churches in the region that share such a similarity in planning. However, the plan, function and sources of these sanctuaries have not been investigated.

Although the New Tokalı Kilise was no doubt a source for the Chapel 33 (Meryemana) sanctuary, the significance of the funeral chapel under the Old Tokalı Kilise has hitherto been overlooked by scholars. The sanctuary arrangement of this chapel has to be considered a predecessor of that in the New Tokalı. It has been suggested that this funeral chapel was contemporary with the Old Tokalı Kilise, and it has been dated to some time shortly before the first quarter of the tenth century.[76] The New

[73] Jerphanion, I, 59; II, 409. His idea was elaborated by Kostof, *Caves*, 103-105, and has been also accepted by Epstein, *The Date and Context*, 63; eadem, *Tokalı*, 11-13; Restle, "Kappadokien," cols. 1001-1008, with further bibliography.

[74] Scholars seem to agree in dating the New Tokalı Kilise to the middle of the 10th century. Jerphanion, I, 546-548; idem, "Toqale Kilise," 191 ff.; Cormack, "Byzantine Cappadocia," esp. 24-35; idem., "Painting after Iconoclasm," 157. Epstein adduced further materials to confirm this date: *The Date and Context*, 61-66, and *Tokalı Kilise*, 39-44. Recently Thierry attributed the New Tokalı frescoes to the time of Nikephoros Phokas: Thierry, "Xe siècle," 217-246. On the dating of Chapel 33 (Meryemana): Jerphanion I, 243-253; Schiemenz, "Chronologie," 253 ff.; Brenk, *Tradition*, 94-98; Restle, *Wall Painting*, I, 52 and 134-135; Kostof, *Caves*, 154, 227, 273, cat. no. 51; Epstein, *The Date and Context*, 70-72 and 86, 87; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 143-146, with bibliography.

[75] Epstein, *The Date and Context*, 71, 72.

[76] Ibid., 60, 61.

Tokalı appeared later as a result of the enlargement of the Old Tokalı around the middle of the tenth century. The funeral chapel and the New Tokalı share an important element in the composition of their sanctuaries — a narrow walkway which separated the sanctuary from the nave (ill. 20). Because the funeral chapel was the first one on the same spot, it has to be seen as the source for the sanctuary design of the New Tokalı (ill. 21).

This funeral chapel is a small square-shaped basilica in plan, and has three naves which are divided by a colonnaded arcade. The central nave is slightly wider than the side ones. Its eastern end is preceded by the three sanctuaries, all of which are alike. All of them have altars, presbyters' chairs, and low-parapet screens. No niches inside the apse's walls are found. All three sanctuaries are open to a narrow rectangular corridor about one meter wide which makes all three sanctuaries accessible to the nave. Only one prothesis niche is found within this corridor. It is located in the western wall between the central and south arched entrances. Three horseshoe-shaped archways corresponding to the three sanctuaries connect this corridor with the three naves. The three sanctuaries and the corridor-walkway are elevated above the nave, with one step leading to each of the arch-openings. This particular corridor-walkway makes this sanctuary unique. It seems that the idea of such a design was taken over and developed by the architects in the New Tokalı and then later in Chapel 33 (Meryemana).

Upon analysing the overall plans of the New Tokalı and Chapel 33 (Meryemana), it is striking that, as in the funeral chapel under Old Tokalı, they closely resemble each other in plan. Their sanctuaries occupy almost as much space as their naves, which makes all of the sanctuaries accessible. In both cases three sanctuaries dominate the nave. Unlike the funeral chapel, they are elevated very high above the floor level. In the case of Tokalı Kilise, the height of the sanctuaries is one meter, whereas in Chapel 33 (Meryemana) it is 1.8 m. Such a high elevation of the pavement gives the impression of a theatrical stage for the performance of the liturgical drama. Although all three apses were furnished similarly to the churches discussed above, what is radically new about the design is that all of the apses were separated from the nave by an additional narrow walkway. In Tokalı Kilise this walkway opens to the nave through a horseshoe-shaped arcade screen; in Chapel 33 (Meryemana) it is a colonnaded screen. In both cases, the sanctuary screens are quite open, and thus the liturgy could be visible from the

nave. In the case of Tokalı, two prothesis niches are placed within the walls between the north, central and south apses. In addition, one niche has been cut in the north wall of the apse. Each sanctuary, therefore, has its own prothesis niche in this corridor. The transfer of the gifts to the altar then started within this walkway, outside the sanctuaries. Furthermore, each apse is separated from the corridor by the low-parapet screen. A similar architectural positioning of the prothesis is found also in the sixth-century church at Mydie in Thrace in Asia Minor near the Black Sea (pl. 11, ill. 22).[77] Although this church is based on the basilica plan, a small walkway connects the side chambers with the central apse. A semicircular niche, very much like the ones at the New Tokalı, is placed between the central apse and north side chamber. Thus this walkway makes all three sanctuaries and the prothesis niche easily accessible. Originally the high templon screen, which is for the most part destroyed, separated the nave from the central sanctuary. Therefore, as in the Tokalı Kilise, the performance of the liturgy in this early church was visible to the faithful. The difference in the arrangement of the two churches is that the prothesis niche and the walkway between the sanctuaries in the basilica in Mydie are within the bema area. Its sanctuary consists of an apse plus an additional space which is separated from the nave by a high templon screen. In the sixth-century basilica in Mydie the walkway where the prothesis niche is located is placed between the apse and the sanctuary screen, while in the Tokalı and Chapel 33 (Meryemana) the walkway and three prothesis niches are arranged outside the three-apse bema. The sanctuaries of Tokalı Kilise and Chapel 33 (Meryemana) show the inventiveness of local Middle Byzantine architectural design. However, it seems that the architects still utilized already-known elements of design from previously existing architectural tradition. While the sanctuary arrangement of these two churches is unique, the multiplication of similarly designed sanctuaries is found in a number of churches of transverse plan. Examples are the early tenth-century Chapels 3, 6 and 16, all in Göreme.[78] The eleventh-century Chapel 2a

[77] Eyice and Thierry, "Le monastère," figs. 9, 30, 31.

[78] On Chapel 3: Jerphanion, I, 140-144; Restle, *Wall Painting*, I, 16, 17, 105, 106, II, fig. 3; On Chapel 6: Jerphanion, I, 95-112; idem, "Une chapelle," 153-157; Swoboda, "Erschienene Werke," 124; Cormack, "Byzantine Cappadocia," 34; Restle, *Wall Painting*, I, 20, 27-29, 31, 32, 108-119 and II, fig. 8; Kostof, *Caves*, 95, 201, 265, cat. no. 19; Epstein, *The Date and Context*, 72, 73. For Chapel 16: Jerphanion, I, 492-495; Restle, *Wall Painting*, I, 121, 122, and II, fig. 15; Epstein, *The Date and Context*, 72, 73.

(Saklı Kilise) in Göreme as well as other churches belong to the same group.[79]

From these sanctuary arrangements, one can conclude that the multiplication of sanctuaries became a common feature of Middle Byzantine Cappadocian church architecture, although the architectural solutions were sometimes different.

3. Central Apse Flanked by Lateral Apsidioles in the Same Nave

There is another type of multi-sanctuary arrangement that can be identified in the Early and Middle Byzantine churches in Cappadocia. It consists of a central apse-sanctuary furnished similarly to the sanctuaries discussed above, flanked by one or two small apsidioles on both sides. These apsidioles are usually elevated about one meter above floor level, similar to the height of the altar in the central sanctuary. This sanctuary design can be found at the eastern end of the Early and Middle Byzantine rock-cut churches in this region.

The double-nave Chapel 4 (Üzümlü Kilise) in Zelve in Cappadocia is an important case in point. This is the earliest rock-cut church in Cappadocia which has lateral apsidioles near the central sanctuary in the south nave (ill. 3).[80] The east wall of the south nave of Chapel 4 is terminated by the central apse and two lateral apsidioles. The central apse is larger then the side ones, and it includes four carved chairs on both sides of the apse. The altar is missing but its remains are still visible at the center of the apse. This apse is completely opened to the nave and has no evidence of the enclosure. The side apsidioles are shaped as elongated niches with their height on the usual level of the altar. Below the niches the cubical

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[79] Restle dated this church to the second part of the eleventh century and links it to the Yılanlı group: Restle, *Wall Painting*, I, 52, 103-105; II, fig. 2. Epstein provided further connections of this church with the Yılanlı group: Epstein, *The Date and Context*, 108-112; eadem, "Rock-cut Chapels," 115-135. Other scholars also attributed this church to the Yılanlı group but without substantial evidence: Schiemenz, "Chronology," 253; Budde, *Göreme*, 21-26; idem, "Johanneskirche," 263-271; Swoboda, "Erschienene Werke," 122 and 125; Kostof, *Caves* 227, cat. no. 53.

[80] Jerphanion, I, 586-589; Thierry, "Monuments," 58, 59; *Arts of Cappadocia*, 89, pl. 37; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 5-7, with bibliography. There is more evidence for such an early date. The style of decorating the central apse of the south church with three blind elongated niches with carved crosses inside is found in the apse of another rock-cut monastery church at Vize in Thrace which was attributed by Eyice to about the sixth century: Eyice, "Trakya," 325-359, fig. 10.

altars are slightly extended to the naves. The presence of altars in side apsidioles suggest that they were intended to be used as additional altars.

Examples of churches where the central apse is flanked by lateral apsidioles can be found also in some Early and Middle Byzantine churches in Cilicia.[81] Early Palestinian churches show a similar arrangement of apsidioles on both sides of the central apse in churches dated from about the fifth century and throughout Middle Byzantine times. An example of similar lateral recessed apsidioles can be seen in the sixth-century north basilica at Shivta.[82] The naves and galleries of this church are for the most part destroyed, but all three sanctuaries survive. Although the central rectangular bema which is extended to the nave is different from the Cappadocian apse-bema arrangement, the small recessed apsidioles on its side are of the same nature. The three apses are open to the nave and are quite isolated from each other. In another Palestinian church, St. Theodore in Avdat, one can see this even more clearly (ill. 23). The surviving marble low-parapet screen separates each sanctuary, including the lateral apsidioles. The existence of the low-parapet screen around the central apse and the smaller side apsidioles implies that the side apsidioles were intended to be used for additional altars or sanctuaries. These apsidioles in Palestinian churches have usually been interpreted by scholars as prothesis and diakonikon.[83] But one needs only one prothesis niche or a prothesis table for the liturgy. The south apsidiole is ill-suited for keeping vestments and church vessels since it is open to the nave and visible to the faithful. The semicircular side apsidioles probably accommodated additional altars. It is difficult to know where this triple bema design originated. In Palestine this type of three-bema arrangement gradually developed from the early Christian through Middle Byzantine times and was one of the popular types of sanctuary planning.[84] It is important, however, that this type of design was disseminated among the regions of Asia Minor as well. It is frequently found in the churches of

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[81] Several churches in the Bin Bir Kilise area, in Cilicia, show similar location of small apsidioles on one or both sides of the central apse, e.g. church no. 44, Chapel Rchet Dagh, Kaya Sarintch, Yaghdebash, and Ala Kilise: Ramsay, Bell, *Churches*, figs. 181, 229, 233, 290, 324.

[82] Ovadiah, *Corpus*, 166-169, 195-196, and plan no. 6. For further discussion, illustration and complete bibliography: Krautheimer, *Architecture*, 278 and note 13, ill. 226.

[83] Ovadiah, *Corpus*, plan no. 167.

[84] The three-bema arrangement is found also in the south church of Shivta, St. Mary in Nizzana, and others. For illustrations: Ovadiah, *Corpus*, figs. 149, 169.

Asia Minor, for example in the churches at Ayazin Hamam and at Inli in the region of Phrygia.[85] It is not found in the churches of Egypt or early churches in Armenia or Georgia or Constantinople. The church architecture of Palestine and Asia Minor seems to use this arrangement predominantly. Like the horseshoe-shaped sanctuary, however, Cappadocian lateral apsidioles do not flank additional bema space. Cappadocian lateral apsidioles were simply opened to the nave and as such were an integral part of the nave. This particular arrangement developed in some of the Middle Byzantine churches in this region.

An example of this sanctuary type can be illustrated by the south chapel of the double-nave Chapel 11 (St. Eustathius) (middle of the tenth century) in Göreme.[86] The north church was planned as a single-nave church. The south one, however, has, in addition to the central apse, a small apsidiole placed to the north of the central apse. This apsidiole was open to the nave and contained a cube-shaped altar.

Similarly, two side apsidioles are found in the early tenth-century Chapel 9 in Göreme (ill. 24).[87] The central apse is largely demolished, but two small elongated apsidioles are still evident. Originally the level of the nave pavement was much lower and the apsidioles would have been higher in relation to it. The south apsidiole has a small cube-shaped altar, while the north one is simply left as a niche. Their symmetrical arrangement implies a similar function as side altars. The existence of the small semicircular niche on the eastern part of the northern wall indicates that they cannot simply be dismissed as prothesis niches. The prothesis niche is located just at the eastern end of the north wall near the north apsidiole. This disposition of the reduced-sized apsidioles near the central

[85] On Ayazin Hamam A, D, F, and churches at Inli: Haspels, *Phrygia*, II, figs. 577, 580, 581, and 596.

[86] Jerphanion attributes this chapel to the "archaic group" of the first half of the tenth century: Jerphanion, I, 147-170. Epstein, however, thinks that the style of its painting is far more developed than that in Tavşanlı Kilise. She dated the Tavşanlı Kilise after the New Tokalı, to ca. 945-948, and therefore she places St. Eustace at the middle of the tenth century (*The Date and Context*, 44, 45). Restle dates it to the last decade of the tenth century (*Wall Painting*, I, 119, 120, II, 13 and fig. 134).

[87] Chapel 9 has been connected with the "archaic group" and generally dated to the first quarter of the tenth century: see Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler*, 229-230; Jerphanion, I, 121-137; Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie*, 42; Budde, *Göreme*, 31; Restle, *Wall Painting*, I, 37-40, 117-119, and plan II, XII; Swoboda, "Erschienene Werke," 124; W.F. Volbach and J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, "Byzanz und der christliche Osten," *Propylaen-Kunstgeschichte* 3 (1968) 174-175; Kostof, *Caves*, 181, 201, 266, cat. no. 21. Epstein dates this church to about the middle of the tenth century, after the New Tokalı Kilise: see Epstein, *The Date and Context*, 37-41.

sanctuary found its evolution in other churches in this area, for example, the tenth-century single-nave Chapel 15a in the Göreme valley.[88] In the unpublished cross-plan church in the Meskendir valley a somewhat different location of the apsidioles is found which suggests its dependence on the church plan (ill. 25). Observation of this church shows some stylistic links to the architecture of the New Tokalı. First of all, this church is a very spacious building in the manner of the New Tokalı. The central apse and lateral apsidioles have horseshoe-shaped arches like those in the arcade screen in the New Tokalı church. The south and north walls of both arms of the cross are articulated in both churches by means of a blind arcade. Similarly, in both churches one finds a second cornice which divides the upper lunette in the walls. All this lets us believe that the Meskendir chapel might have been excavated some time shortly after the New Tokalı Kilise, around the middle of the tenth century. Significantly, this church has side apsidioles sheltered within the eastern walls of the south and north arms of the cross. The apsidioles are of a horseshoe shape and are deep enough to be used as additional altars.

This sanctuary pattern, consisting of central apse and side apsidioles, was also incorporated into some cross-in-square churches. Thus, in the cross-in-square eleventh-century church of Eski Gümüş in Niğde, two lateral apsidioles were incorporated within the eastern end of the church, whereas in Constantinopolitan church buildings one would expect to have side pastophoria chambers.[89] The bottom of both apsidioles were lowered sometime later; at present they measure about 40 cm. high. Originally the floor was much higher in both of them and its line is still visible on the walls. One can see this arrangement of the lateral apsidioles in yet another eleventh-century cross-in-square church, Koyunagul in Yaprakhisar, and in Kepez Kilise, Kepez Deresi, and Kepez Deresi 3.[90]

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[88] This chapel has generally been attributed to the "archaic group" of churches of the first half of the tenth century: Jerphanion, I, 145-146; Schiemenz, "Göreme," 70-96 and 75; Restle, *Wall Painting*, I, 192; Kostof, *Caves*, 266, cat. no.22. I think that Chapel 15a and Chapel 9 were excavated at a time close to that, around the first quarter of the tenth century. The similarity in plan, scale, liturgical furnishing and style in both churches has been overlooked by art historians.

[89] Thierry links Eski Gümüş to the style of the frescoes of St. Michael in the Peristrema valley, and dates its frescoes to ca. 1025-1028: Thierry, "Un style byzantin," 45-61. Similar attribution: Epstein, *The Date and Context*, 80; Gough, "Second Preliminary Report," 157-164; Restle, *Wall Painting*, I, 177-179, 182; Kostof, *Caves*, 272, cat. no. 49.

[90] For Koyunagul Kilise see Thierry, "Études Cappadociènnes," 190 and fig. 5; for Kepez churches see Wallace, "Some Cappadocian Churches," 31, figs. 3, 4, 6.

What is important in the sanctuary planning of cross-in-square churches is that the Constantinopolitan concept of a triple arrangement of the eastern end of the church was rearranged by the Cappadocian architects according to their own liturgical and architectural traditions.

A similar situation happened with the sanctuary design of the cross-domed churches in this area, as seen in two eleventh-century churches: a cross-domed church with two-column support, Cambazlı Kilise near Ortahisar, and a cross-domed church with four-column support, Kepez Kilise (Sarica Kilise) in Kepez near Ürgüp. Both have lateral apsidioles flanking the central apse in the same manner as the cross-in-square churches discussed above.[91] A parallel to this planning is also found during the same period in the rock-cut monastery church at David Garedža (ninth or early tenth century) in Georgia.[92] In this case the central apse is rather smaller, and therefore the altar is moved to the south side of the apse in order to reserve some space for the celebrant. On the other hand, the disposition of the side apsidioles is similar to those observed in Cappadocia.

Observation of this second type of sanctuary arrangement — the central sanctuary with lateral apsidioles — shows that the design was largely dependent on each individual church plan. The flexibility of this sanctuary design facilitated its integration into different church plans.

Examination of both types of sanctuary arrangements, (1) multiplication of similarly furnished apses and (2) one central apse-sanctuary with one or two later apsidioles (probably used as additional altar-tables), shows multiple-bema arrangements in spite of the differences in their plans. They are designed together at the eastern end of the church; the majority of sanctuaries in the cross-in-square churches have a tripartite pattern. Thus the pattern in which each apse is a bema is evident throughout Cappadocian church architecture from the Early until the Middle Byzantine period. Neither Early nor Middle Byzantine churches in Cappadocia contain pastophoria near the central sanctuary.

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[91] On the dating of Sarica Kilise: Jerphanion, II, 47-49; Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler*, 208 ff; Lafontaine-Dosogne, "Sarica kilise," 263-284; Restle, *Wall Painting*, I, 149, 150. On the dating of Cambazlı Kilise: Thierry, "Une nouvelle église," 5-23; Restle, ibid., I, 65-66, 150; Kostof, *Caves*, 267, cat. no. 36. See also similar arrangements in other churches at Kepez: Wallace, "Some Cappadocian Churches," 31, and figs. 3-6.

[92] G. Chubinashvili, *Pesshchernye monastyri David-Garedzhi* (Tbilisi 1948), fig. 95; Alpago-Novello et al., *Architecture*, 89-91.

In sum, the liturgical planning of Cappadocian sanctuaries can be characterized by the following features:

Early Churches

1. Horseshoe-shaped apse serving as single sanctuary.

2. Single or multiple sanctuary arrangement.

3. Single bench-like synthronon with the bishop's throne at the center. In smaller sanctuaries instead of a synthronon the presbyters' chairs can be found on both sides of the apse.

4. Stone cubical altar located at the center of the apse or in some cases adjunct to the center of its eastern wall.

5. Prothesis niche usually placed outside of the sanctuary (to the north). Very few examples have it in the sanctuary.

6. Central chancel entrance emphasized by steps leading toward the altar.

7. No regulation for the type of chancel screen: low-parapet screen, high templon screen, no screen.

8. Ambo centrally oriented and connected with the entrance to the sanctuary by a narrow platform.

Middle Byzantine Churches

1. Horseshoe-shaped apse or, in rare cases, semicircular apse serving as single sanctuary.

2. Single or multiple sanctuary arrangement.

3. Synthronon generally omitted, but still found in very few churches (bench-like synthronon).

4. One or two presbyters' chairs on one or both sides of the sanctuary.

5. Stone cubical altar located at the center of the apse or joined to the center of its western part of the wall.

6. Round reliquary sometimes found at the bottom of the front side of the altar or on top.

7. A similar niche occasionally found above the altar.

8. Prothesis niche in the majority of cases placed outside of the sanctuary to its north. Very few cases locate the prothesis niche in the apse to the north of the altar.

9. Center of chancel screen emphasized by steps leading toward the altar.

10. No regulation for the type of chancel screen: low-parapet screen, high templon screen (in some cases more elaborate), or no screen.

11. No ambo found.

A comparison of Cappadocian sanctuary patterns and arrangements with those of churches in Constantinople and Greece illustrates the differences among the liturgical disposition of the sanctuaries in all these regions of Byzantium.

4. Liturgical Planning of the Sanctuaries in the Churches of Constantinople

Early Constantinopolitan churches before the time of Justinian were presumably basilicas with a single apse at the eastern end.[93] The sanctuary bema in these churches is extended toward the central nave in a sort of Π-shaped fashion. No side rooms near the central apse are found in these churches. Church buildings from the time of Justinian have been characterized by a variety of plans.[94] Side by side with basilicas, central-plan buildings like Hagia Sophia or Sergius and Bacchus came into style. Nevertheless, most of the church buildings continued to utilize a single apse which extended from the central nave. Significantly for the understanding of the evolution of sanctuary planning, Constantinopolitan churches before Iconoclasm do not show tripartite arrangements of their eastern ends like those in Syria. Instead, a skeuophylakion (sacristy) building was usually located on the north side of the nave in the early churches of Constantinople.[95] Mathews and Taft have enumerated the basic features of sanctuary planning in the early churches of Constantinople and Greece as follows.[96]

Early Churches of Constantinople

1. Single apse.

2. Sanctuary consisting of an apse plus an additional U-shaped bema.

3. Apse filled by a very high synthronon of many steps; apart from this no seats for the clergy.

4. Altar located not in the apse, but in front of it.

5. Sanctuary enclosed by an Π-shaped chancel-barrier, originally low, later surmounted by colonnettes and an architrave; it did not block off the sanctuary from the view of the congregation.

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[93] Mathews, *Churches*, 11-41.

[94] Ibid., 42.

[95] Descoeudres, *Pastophorien*, 3 ff. Mathews, *Churches*, 158-159, 160-162, 178.

[96] Mathews, *Churches*, esp. 117-152; Taft, *The Great Entrance*, 179, 180.

6. A centrally located ambo.

7. In some churches, the ambo was connected to the sanctuary by a solea or pathway similar to the Syrian churches.

8. An outside skeuophylakion.

Although the formal plan of Constantinopolitan church buildings included only one apse at the eastern end, the presence of corner rooms at the eastern ends of the north and south aisles in Hagia Eirene is an important factor. Neither literary sources from that period nor the architectural evidence can help interpret the function of the corner rooms in Constantinopolitan churches such as Hagia Eirene. Unfortunately, no other church buildings of this plan have survived. But we should not dismiss this important change in church planning as an excuse for neglecting the development of architecture in Constantinople. There are, however, two important monastic churches from that period in the near vicinity of Constantinople which might, if not explain, at least give some idea of the function of the corner compartments in the Constantinopolitan church. Both church buildings are located in Thrace near the Black Sea, which suggests that their planning reflected the liturgical tradition of Constantinople.

One of them is a basilica of the rock-cut monastery at Mydie in Thrace (pl. 11, ill. 22), dated by Thierry and Eyice to the early sixth century.[97] This building is a basilica in which three naves are divided by three arches resting on heavy rectangular piers. Its central nave is preceded by a large semicircular apse sheltering a three-step synthronon in the manner of the Constantinopolitan churches. The sanctuary bema is extended toward the nave up to the eastern piers between which there originally was a high templon screen separating it from the central nave. This sanctuary enclosure is for the most part destroyed, but its remains are still visible on the pavement and on the walls of the piers. The altar of the sanctuary is missing. It can nevertheless be inferred that originally one stood somewhere between the apse and the sanctuary barrier. As in Constantinopolitan churches, the apse had no room for an altar. To the north and south of the central bema, there are two large passageways running just between the eastern piers and the apse. These passageways connected the central bema with the lateral rooms located at the eastern corners of the north aisles. Significantly, there is a large semicircular

[97] Eyice and Thierry, "Le monastère," 48-76 and fig. 1.

niche cut into the eastern wall of the north passageway. Its size is similar to those already observed in the passageway of the New Tokalı Kilise in Cappadocia. Its location to the north of the central sanctuary of this basilica suggests that it was probably a prothesis niche. Because the corner compartments have wide openings to the central sanctuary, they must have been isolated from the north and south naves by some sort of curtain or door. Unfortunately, the north wall of the basilica is in ruins, but on the basis of the remains it is possible to reconstruct the north corner room. This room probably had a doorway through which it was accessible to the north aisle. A similar one is preserved in the south aisle. What is significant in this room is its furnishing. A semicircular elongated apsidiole is cut into the east wall. It is located about one meter above the floor level and, as in the Cappadocian churches, it probably served as an altar. In addition, there is another niche placed in the south wall. Its disposition above the floor is only 50 cm. The depth of this niche is 40 cm. and its width 60 cm. The measurements of this niche suggest that, as in other Cappadocian churches, it was used as a presbyter's chair. There was probably another one in the north wall which collapsed along with it. The south corner compartment is well preserved and consists of a small rectangular room. This latter room has a passageway in its north side leading to the central sanctuary. On the west side the room opens onto the south aisle. The smaller eastern room has no apsidiole like the one in the north aisle, and an altar is missing. In addition, two chairs have been cut into the north and south walls in a manner similar to the north chamber. The existence of an altar and presbyters' chairs in the north chamber implies that these two corner rooms were probably used for additional chapels. The central sanctuary therefore was provided with its own prothesis niche in the north passageway.

A very similar layout of the corner compartments is found in another sixth-century rock-cut church in the monastery at Vize, not far from that at Mydie.[98] While this church has a cruciform plan, its sanctuary is furnished similarly to the one flanking the central nave in the basilica at Mydie. Even the traces of an altar screen remain on the pavement. The small lateral rooms flanking the central bema are attached to the eastern walls of the north and south arms of the cruciform naos. From the north and south the central bema is opened toward the lateral chambers. The north chamber is equipped with a small apsidiole like the one observed

[98] Eyice, "Trakya," 325, fig. 17.

in the basilica in Mydie. In addition, a small semicircular niche is found in its north wall. This niche might have functioned as a prothesis niche for both the central bema and the north chamber, since no niche is found in the lateral bema. The south chamber is also furnished with an apsidiole. But instead of a prothesis niche, there is a presbyter's chair in the south wall, very much like those in the Mydie basilica. Thus the furnishings of the lateral rooms suggest that they were additional chambers. Because the north lateral room has a prothesis niche, it probably served as a prothesis room as well. None of these side compartments can be used as a diakonikon, and no place is reserved for the storing of church vessels and vestments. The surviving evidence of liturgical furnishing of the corner rooms in the two early Christian churches is very important. A great number of the church buildings in Constantinople have not survived, and so these two churches, situated a short distance from the capital, might shed light on the function of similar corner compartments in the church architecture there. Moreover, the liturgical planning of these two churches is also significant for understanding the evidence for the Middle Byzantine architecture of Constantinople.

Middle Byzantine Churches of Constantinople

Little has survived from the church architecture of Constantinople during the Iconoclast period. From the tenth century on, church buildings of the capital give us a vivid picture of the remarkable growth of their richness and variety of planning. Scholars have distinguished the basic changes that were introduced in that period — the appearance of the tripartite arrangement at the eastern end of a great number of churches. In addition, in his study Mathews has drawn our attention to a single-sanctuary arrangement in a number of churches in the capital such as the Toklu Dede Mescidi, the Bogdan Sarayi, the Theotokos Panagiotissa, the church of Kariye Camii, the galleries of Hagia Eirene, and Gül Camii, the chapels at the ground level of Theotokos Pammakaristos, the Kalenderhane Camii, and the Vefa Kilise Camii.[99]

If the single-sanctuary arrangement co-existed side by side with the tripartite sanctuary pattern, the question then arises as to whether there was a standard use of the sanctuaries in Constantinopolitan churches during the Middle Byzantine period. This question has recently been

[99] Mathews, "'Private' Liturgy," 134.

examined by Descoeudres.[100] Observing the literary sources and archaeological evidence for some of the churches in Constantinople, Greece, Macedonia and the Balkans, he concluded that there was probably no strict regulation for the functional use of the side chambers near the central sanctuary.[101] According to him, the fixed meaning of prothesis and diakonikon is a post-Byzantine phenomenon. For the Middle Byzantine period he found no single form of the prothesis rite mentioned in literary sources. For example, he cited the eleventh- or twelfth-century typikon of Evergetis, mentioning on one occasion that the procession of the gifts started to the right of the bema, and on another from the left.[102] He noted that the location of the prothesis was probably varied in each particular case and was individual for each particular church plan. Finally, he concluded that beside the prothesis and diakonikon functions, the side rooms near the central sanctuary might have had some other functions as well.[103] Unfortunately, he did not provide any evidence to strengthen this idea.

In this connection, we would like to bring into consideration some aspects of the liturgical furnishing of the side rooms near the central sanctuary and the lateral chapels in the monastery of the Theotokos of Constantine Lips (ca. 907) (ill. 26). The semicircular elongated niches in both side chambers and the two lateral chapels at the eastern end of this church have always been interpreted by scholars as prothesis niches.[104] One needs, however, only one niche for the prothesis rite. Moreover, their preserved shape, lower disposition above the floor level, and dimensions are very similar to the presbyters' seats observed in the sixth-century monastery churches in Mydie and Vize and in the apse near the altar of Cappadocian Early and Middle Byzantine churches. Some of the presbyters' chairs in Cappadocian churches were decorated with painted images of church fathers on their backs, as in the eleventh-century Ayvalı Köy Kilise in Mustafapaşa (ill. 27). Here the chairs are carved at both ends of the apse, and images of St. Basil and St. John the Theologian are portrayed on their backs. Features similar in size and position to these seats are found in the side chambers and lateral chapels in the church of the Theotokos of Constantine Lips. Located in elongated semicircular

[100] Descoeudres, *Pastophorien*, 156-159.

[101] Ibid.

[102] Ibid.

[103] Descoeudres, *Pastophorien*, 153.

[104] Macridy et al, "The Monastery of Lips," 279-298, fig. 5.

niches on both sides of the apse, they were mistaken by scholars for prothesis niches. However, their height is the same as that of the seats in Cappadocian churches, indicating that they were used as seats. Their presence in these chapels leads us to believe that the original altars were there at one time. The same arrangements of the side seats are also found in the south chamber of the ninth-century Hagia Sophia at Vize in Thrace, in the ninth-century church at Dereağzi in Asia Minor, and in the ninth- or early tenth-century Round Church at Preslav in Bulgaria.[105] Therefore, aside from the prothesis and diakonikon functions, these chambers might have been used for additional liturgical services as well. In order to interpret the data on sanctuary arrangements in the churches of Cappadocia, we have now to outline the basic elements of the Middle Byzantine sanctuary in Constantinople.

1. Tripartite arrangement of the eastern end of the church; central sanctuary with side chambers.

2. Single sanctuary without side compartments also found.

3. Absence of synthronon.

4. High templon screen or low-parapet screen separating sanctuary from nave.

5. Altar in front of the apse or in the apse (the latter found in the Middle Byzantine churches of Kastoria in Greece).

6. Ambo continues to function in Hagia Sophia.

The furnishing of Middle Byzantine churches in Greece is somewhat similar to the ones observed in Constantinople during this period.[106] Because the synthronon is omitted in most of the Middle Byzantine churches in the capital, one would expect that altars could be placed in the apses.[107] Examples of such an arrangement are found in the Middle

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[105] The seats in these churches have been misinterpreted. For the plan of Dereağzi: J. Morganstern, *The Byzantine Church at Dereağzi and its Decoration*, (Istanbuler Mitteilungen 29, Tübingen 1983), fig. 2. For the Theotokos church: Macridy et al, "The Monastery of Lips," fig. 5. For the Round Church at Preslav: Mango, *Architecture*, 300-301, pls. 326-327.

[106] This summary of the basic characteristics of the Constantinopolitan churches is made by Mathews, "'Private' Liturgy," 125-138.

[107] Many stepped or bench-like synthrona are found in the Middle Byzantine churches of Greece, for example in the eleventh-century church at Serres: A. K. Orlandos, "He metropolis ton Serron kata ten ekphrasin tou Pediasmou," EEBS, 19 (1949), 259-271.

Byzantine churches in Kastoria in Greece.[108] From examination of the Early and Middle Byzantine churches in Constantinople and Greece, it is clear that their sanctuary furnishing has undergone a considerable change during the Middle Byzantine period.[109] A tripartite arrangement at the eastern end of the church was frequently used in church planning. Three chambers were placed side by side and the synthronon was omitted. In general, the ambo disappeared from the church naos during this period. Occasionally it is found, however, in some churches of Greece, the Balkans, and Russia.[110] Evidence has been presented for the use of the ambo in some Middle Byzantine churches of Constantinople as well.[111] But one feature in both periods of Constantinopolitan church architecture remains consistent: apse plus an additional bema space. This is also characteristic of the sanctuary arrangement in Greece. It is this particular pattern which makes the liturgical sanctuary arrangements in Greece and Constantinople today totally different from those of Cappadocia. In Cappadocia the apse in the Early and Middle Byzantine periods served as the entire bema. Some archaic elements of the early sanctuaries, such as the synthronon, continued to be used in some Middle Byzantine Cappadocian churches. Although certain changes took place in the sanctuary arrangement during this period, it seems that the overall pattern of the Cappadocian sanctuary was carried on from Early through Middle Byzantine times. The differences in the sanctuary planning in Constantinople and Cappadocia imply a different pattern in the performance of the liturgy in both places.

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[108] The altars were not included in the published plans of the churches in Kastoria. They are, however, present in several churches dated to the end of the ninth and tenth century, such as the church of Hagios Stephanos, Koubelidiki, and the tenth-century Taxiarch of the Metropolis: see Epstein, "Byzantine Churches," 190-207; Chatzidakis, *Kastoria*, 6-11, 84-87, 92-102.

[109] On the changes in the sanctuary furnishing: Mathews, "'Private' Liturgy," 125-127, 131-134.

[110] A recent study which includes information on the Middle Byzantine ambo is Jakobs, *Ambone*, 135-146; also J.-P. Sodini, "Une iconostase byzantine à Xanthos," *Actes du Colloque sur la Lycie antique*. Bibliothèque de l'Institut français d'études anatoliènnes d'Istanbul, no. 27 (Paris 1980), 119-48, fig. 8. For the ambo in the church at Serres in Greece: Orlandos, "He metropolis ton Serron kata ten ekphrasin tou Pediasmou," (see note 107 above), 259-271. For the fourteenth-century text mentioning the ambo in the church at Serres: M. Treu, *Theodori Pediasimi eiusque amicorum quae extant* (Potsdam 1899) 14-16. On the use of the ambo in Bulgarian churches: Teteriatnikov, "Bulgaria," forthcoming.

[111] A. Kazhdan, "A Note on the 'Middle Byzantine' Ambo," Byz 57/2 (1987) 422-26; Teteriatnikov, "Bulgaria," forthcoming.

In general, the Byzantine liturgy consists of two parts: the Liturgy of the Catechumens and the Liturgy of the Faithful. Concerning the changes in the shape of the early liturgy, scholars have shown that the processional character of the first part of the liturgy, namely the solemn entrance of the Gospel terminating the synthronon in the apse, was abbreviated in the small central plan of the Middle Byzantine church building.[112] In the Middle Byzantine church the liturgy began with reading the litany, with the clergy already present in the sanctuary. The changes in the second part of the liturgy are even more important. They are particularly concerned with the place of preparation of the bread and wine and how these elements were transported during the service to the altar where the final part of the Eucharist was performed. This procession of the gifts to the main altar was called "The Great Entrance." Thus scholars proposed that the preparation of the bread and wine was no longer made outside of the church in the skeuophylakion, but rather at some table in a special prothesis room near the sanctuary.[113] At the start of the liturgy the gifts were already reserved on the table in this prothesis room. The procession of the gifts therefore started in the prothesis chamber and then continued in the nave for the faithful, and finally proceeded to the central altar. Thus the procession makes a semicircle from one sanctuary to another. This outline of the prothesis rite might be realized in churches with tripartite sanctuaries.

But what was the solution for the single-sanctuary churches? In Middle Byzantine churches with the single-sanctuary plan in Constantinople and Greece, the prothesis niche is always found inside the bema to the north of the altar. The earliest example of such an arrangement is in the church of the Archangels in Sige (ca. 780).[114] This church complex includes a main church flanked by south and north chapels. The sanctuary of the main church has a prothesis niche in the north wall of the apse, a synthronon, and an altar. The presence of the prothesis niche indicates that this sanctuary functioned independently from the north and south chapels. The sanctuary of the crypt in the eleventh-century monastery of Hosios Loukas and the fourteenth-century church of Kariye Camii in Istanbul are similar examples of such an arrangement.[115] As

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[112] On the changes in Byzantine liturgy: Mathews: "'Private' Liturgy," 125-127.

[113] Mathews, ibid., 126; Taft, *The Great Entrance*, 1-10, 178-203.

[114] Buchwald, *Church*, 9-33, 63, and pl. VIII, fig. 34.

[115] For other examples of the single-sanctuary arrangement in Constantinople: Mathews, "'Private' Liturgy," 135. For the plan and illustration of the crypt in Hosios

opposed to the Constantinopolitan sanctuary plan, the Cappadocian sanctuary pattern suggests a somewhat different outline for the liturgical procession of the transformation of the gifts. Instead of a separate prothesis room, a prothesis niche is found in a very few examples to the north of the altar inside the apse. But in the majority of Early and Middle Byzantine churches in Cappadocia, the prothesis niche commonly appears in the eastern part of the north wall or in the eastern wall of the nave to the north of the sanctuary. In both cases the prothesis niche is standard throughout the naves of the churches in this region. Thus this simple architectural pattern of the sanctuary indicates a very restricted space for the performance of the liturgy. There are neither prothesis nor diakonikon rooms found in this arrangement. One can imagine that the procession of the gifts could proceed from a niche placed only to the north in the apse or one placed off the apse but near the sanctuary. The open sanctuary screen implies that the preparation of the gifts was fully visible by the faithful in both cases. It is significant to note that in the case of the multiple-bema arrangement in churches of different types, such as basilical, double- or triple-nave churches, the cruciform or cross-in-square and transverse plan, we are dealing with a similar type of liturgical shape. Each sanctuary bema has a similar pattern of furnishing which implies the same action. The lateral apses are not a prothesis and diakonikon room but rather additional independent sanctuaries. They are furnished for the liturgy as the central apse is, which indicates that each apse in a multi-sanctuary type church was used for the liturgy as is the apse in a single-nave church. This fact is very important for it stands for a specific pattern in the local liturgical and architectural tradition.

Although the plan of the Cappadocian apse as a single bema is a distinguishing feature of Cappadocian church architecture, the custom of using several sanctuaries within the same church in Cappadocia and the churches of the Christian East, such as Palestine, Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia, Georgia, and Armenia, argues for a strongly established liturgical tradition in all these countries around the Mediterranean. We must then search for a solution that might provide us with some understanding of this phenomenon.

Lukas Monastery: E. Stikas, *To oikodomikon chronikon tes mones Hosiou Louka Phokidos* (Athens 1970) 182 and fig. 93; C. L. Connor, *Art and Miracles in Medieval Byzantium: the Crypt at Hosios Loukas and its Frescoes* (Princeton 1991) 68-101, fig. 7.

5. Cappadocian Sanctuary Function

The architectural exchange between Cappadocia and the countries of the Christian East indicates that they shared a similar need for additional altars of sanctuaries in church architecture. Unfortunately, the literary sources are silent on the liturgical life of the monastic communities in this province. Therefore one has to look for outside sources in order to explain the local architectural development. To interpret the multiplication of sanctuaries within the same church in Cappadocia entails examining their function in the broader framework of Early Christian and Middle Byzantine architecture.

The fact that we can trace the multi-apse arrangement of the Middle Cappadocian churches back to Early Cappadocian churches and the early churches of Asia Minor, Palestine, Syria, and Egypt indicates that the need for such arrangements already existed in the early Christian period. There are two major factors which seem important for understanding this phenomenon: (1) the multiplication of liturgies, which often took place on the same day and within the same church, and (2) the prohibition of liturgical celebration twice on the same altar within the single day.

Recently Taft has published important material on the frequency of the Eucharist throughout Byzantine history.[116] According to him, by the time of Constantine the Great there was already a tradition of celebrating the Eucharist several times during the week. Besides Saturday and Sunday, the custom of celebrating mass on weekdays spread in the churches of the West and in all eastern countries around the Mediterranean. In Cappadocia, in particular, around 372, Basil of Caesarea recommended communion on Wednesday, Friday and Sunday.[117] By that time the Eucharist was celebrated on Wednesday, Friday, and Sunday in Palestine, Cyprus, and Mesopotamia; Friday, Saturday, and Sunday in Antioch; and finally every day in Alexandria. In fifth-century Constantinople, the liturgy was celebrated only on Saturday and Sunday. From this observation it is striking that the Cappadocian church very early developed a most intense daily liturgical life. According to Taft, in Constantinople, however, the custom of celebrating the liturgy on weekdays was established only in the ninth century.[118] But in addition to this custom, a

[116] Taft, "Eucharist," 13-24.

[117] Taft, "Eucharist," 15.

[118] Ibid.

daily liturgical schedule was enriched by the occasional Eucharist, stational liturgies, and liturgies for saints' days.

The fourth and fifth centuries were the period of a strong devotional movement which affected monastic life and church institutions as well as private individuals. A recent study of the stational liturgy in Jerusalem, Rome, and Constantinople by Baldovin demonstrates that the earliest source for the development of the stational liturgy and a complex liturgical atmosphere was Jerusalem.[119] Thus the Holy Places were the center of pilgrimage and a source of inspiration for the neighboring countries.

The church calendar was elaborated from as early as the fourth century and, as a result, more frequent celebration of the Eucharist was required for feast days and saints' days. The multiple liturgical tradition was especially developed in Jerusalem, which was natural given the social and political climate of this city. Although politically Jerusalem was not a significant city, the richness of the holy shrines and the flowing streams of pilgrims stimulated a more complex social and religious life. Such an intense atmosphere of Christian devotion created a mobile system of worship. We know that the tradition of celebrating the liturgy twice on Holy Thursday already took shape in Jerusalem during the fourth century. Criticizing this custom of celebrating the liturgy twice on the same day, St. Augustine gives us valuable information on the liturgical tradition.

> If someone on pilgrimage to another country where the people of God are more numerous and more given to attending services and more devoted, sees, for instance, that the eucharist is offered twice on Thursday in the last week of Lent, both in the morning and in the evening; and on returning home where the custom is to offer it only in the evening — if he makes a fuss that this is wrong and not the correct thing to do, that is a childish way to behave.[120]

Egeria also informs us that the liturgy was celebrated twice in Jerusalem on Easter and Epiphany as well as on the last Thursday of Lent.[121] It seems probable that the more complex rites in pilgrimage centers, such as Jerusalem, influenced monastic communities all over the Christian East and even the West.

Besides the feast days or saints' days, liturgical services for small public circles, the so-called votive services, developed. Votive services

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[119] Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship*, 45-104.

[120] Dix, *Liturgy*, 441 and note 1.

[121] J. Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels to the Holy Land*, revised ed. (Jerusalem and Warminster 1981) 131, 132.

were offered by villages, families or private individuals for various purposes.[122] There were liturgies for people going on journeys, for rain, for good weather, against disease, for birthdays, in sickness, for thanksgiving, recovery from illness, masses to obtain children, and services for the dead.[123] All these forms of Christian worship were spread all over the Christian countries. The hagiographical literature is rich in examples of liturgies celebrated by the people for various purposes. The life of St. Theodore of Sykeon is a very important case in point.[124] Theodore was a bishop in a monastery in Galatia, in the present village of Sykeon, sixty-five miles west of Ankara in Asia Minor, not far from Cappadocia. He lived at the end of the sixth and early seventh centuries, when all these customs were being developed. His *Vita* gives the reader a picture of the very active liturgical life in the village. In addition to regular liturgical services, it describes celebrations of the liturgy for good weather, healing a child, and other occasions.[125] From his *Vita* one can understand that even a small village church or oratory had a very complex system of worship. In the church of St. Michael in his village there were three aisles, with the one to the north being dedicated to John the Baptist and that to the south being an oratory of the Virgin.[126] Thus, the need for additional altars occurred not only in Jerusalem, pilgrimage centers and big cities, but also in provincial environments. Unfortunately, no complete examination of the sources regarding the frequency of the liturgy in Byzantine churches has yet been made.

In her book on the side chapels in Byzantine architecture, G. Babić brought forward important literary sources for the church regulations concerning the use of the altar in daily liturgies.[127] According to the

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[122] Taft, "Eucharist," 13.

[123] J. A. Jungmann, *The Early Liturgy to the Time of Gregory the Great*, 5th ed. (Notre Dame 1977) 294 ff.

[124] Dawes, Baynes, *Saints*, 85-192; *VTheod. Syk.* 45,5 ff. On the manuscript tradition of the *Vita*, see D. Baker, "Theodore of Sykeon and the historians," in *The Orthodox Church and the West* (Studies in Church History 13) (Oxford 1976) 83-96; J. O. Rosenqvist, "Der Text der Vita Theodori Syceotae im Cod. Atheniensis BN 1014," *Eranos* 78 (1980) 163-174. On liturgical significance, see Ruggieri, *Architecture*, 95-97.

[125] In the *Life* of St. Theodore Sykeon there are references to liturgies for the festival of the Mother of God, for thanksgiving for God's help against the locusts in the vineyards, for the rain and for the sick. See Dawes, Baynes, *Saints*, 113, 135, 155, 159, 160.

[126] Ruggieri (*Architecture*, 246, 247) pointed out that the eucharist was celebrated in the north chapel.

[127] Babić, *Les chapelles*, esp. 9-11.

Council of Auxerre (585), and early Christian writers such as Ignatius of Antioch and Eusebius of Casarea, as well as Goar's *Euchologion*, there was a prohibition against celebrating the liturgy twice on the same altar in the same day.[128] Babić considers this important evidence for her interpretation of the funeral function of the annex chapels in Byzantine churches. As we have already shown, however, besides funeral services, there were a variety of other liturgical services for various occasions. Therefore, the above-mentioned sources are important not only for understanding the funeral aspect of these annex chapels, but also for understanding the multiplication of altars within the church nave. Unfortunately, little archaeological evidence on the altars and their location in the churches of Byzantium and the Christian East exists to support this. Many churches were devastated through the years and therefore have lost their original furnishings. Significantly, several literary sources inform us of a number of altars in some Byzantine churches.

For example, Bishop Arculf (A.D. 700) provides some information on the additional altars in Palestinian churches and their use. He recorded three altars in the church of the Holy Sepulchre.[129] In the church of St. Mary in the immediate neighborhood of Jerusalem he observed five altars, "four in the upper part of the church and one in the lower level at the eastern end."[130] In a cave near Mount Olivet he found four stone tables.[131] Another traveler, Willibald (A.D. 721-27), observed two altars in the church of the Nativity in Bethlehem.

> The place where Christ was born was once a cave under the earth, but it is now a square house cut in the rock, and the earth is dug up and thrown from it all around, and a church is now built above it, and an altar is placed over the site of the birth. There is another smaller altar, in order that when they desire to celebrate mass in the cave, they may carry in the small altar for the occasion.[132]

The actual presence of several sanctuaries within the same nave was widespread in the churches of the Christian East. According to Butler's study, it was standard to have three or more sanctuaries at the eastern

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[128] K. J. von Hefele, ed., *Histoire des conciles*, III, 1 (Paris 1909), 216; Goar, *Euchologion*, 16; Eusèbe de Césarée, *Histoire Ecclesiastique*, SC 55 (1958) 81-104; Ignatius of Antioch, *Epistola ad Philadelphenses*, IV, PG 5, col. 700 B; For other sources: Babić, ibid., notes 3-8.

[129] Wright, *Early Travels*, 2.

[130] Wright, *Early Travels*, 4.

[131] Ibid.

[132] Wright, *Early Travels*, 19.

end of the early Coptic churches of Egypt.[133] He pointed out that these side sanctuaries were used on the occasions of the great feasts such as Christmas, Palm Sunday, and the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross. According to Coptic canon law, on these days more than a single celebration of the liturgy is required. At the same time Coptic canon law forbids a second celebration of the liturgy on the same altar within the same day. Butler also pointed out a similar custom of having three or more altars in the churches of the Christian East such as Ethiopia, Syria, Armenia, and Mesopotamia.[134] Concerning the sanctuaries in Syrian churches, Descoeudres in his above-mentioned book cited literary sources and observations on Syrian sanctuary planning.[135] Analyzing literary sources on the liturgical function of the side corner rooms near the central sanctuary in North and South Syria, he concluded that there was no regulation on their use.[136] No evidence exists on the fixed location of the prothesis and diakonikon rooms. Before the Arab invasion, the side corner rooms near the central sanctuary had multiple functions in the church buildings of these areas. Some churches in South Syria used side rooms as sacristies; others, in the north in particular, used them as baptisteries or martyria. Descoeudres also noted that, in addition to the above-mentioned function, there must have been still other uses of these rooms.[137] According to his study, this situation changed in Syria after the Arab invasion. Since that time, the lateral corner chambers near the sanctuary in Syrian churches were dedicated to the martyrs.[138] This means that these rooms were used as additional sanctuaries for the celebration of the liturgies.

A similar custom of having additional sanctuaries probably existed in Byzantine churches as well. In his twelfth-century typikon, Gregory Pakurianos, a ktetor of the Georgian monastery of the Mother of God of

[133] Butler, *Coptic Churches*, II, 23-25. A sixth- to seventh- century papyrus gives us important information: "And I who call upon you on account of it agree in the presence of the Blessed Trinity not to take a wife after this one: ... nor to fornicate nor to consort with Sarakote monks, nor to permit them at all to enter my sanctuary nor to offer sacrifice on it; nor to assemble twice in a single day in one sanctuary." L. S. B. MacCoull, "A Coptic Marriage-Contract," *Actes du XVe congrès international de papyrologie*, vol. 2 (Brussels 1979) 118. I would like to thank Dr. MacCoull for this reference.

[134] Butler, *Coptic Churches*, 23, 24.

[135] Descoeudres, *Pastophorien*, 26-34.

[136] Descoeudres, *Pastophorien*, 69-75.

[137] Descoeudres, *Pastophorien*, 75.

[138] Ibid., 75, 76.

Petritzos (near the present-day Bulgarian village of Bačkovo), also mentioned two altars in his church.[139] The archaeological evidence, however, shows that this church originally had one central apse and two lateral ones at the eastern end.[140] The main altar was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and two others to John the Baptist and St. George.[141] Pakurianos also provided for liturgies in this church on Sundays, and, in addition, commemorative services for himself and his family three times a week.[142] But the other days of the week, he said, the clergy of this church could celebrate services for anybody who wanted.[143] This custom of having several altars in the churches of the Christian East was long-lasting. Thus the Russian traveler Porphirii Uspenskii, visiting Sinai in 1846, observed a great number of sanctuaries and chapels in the churches there.[144] He noted that they were dedicated in different times and for different purposes. They were required, he explained, for veneration of the saints and to celebrate liturgies for both the living and the dead. According to him only one mass can be celebrated at one altar. His explanation is confirmed by the earlier sources, and thus is important, for it shows that multiple altars in Christian churches belong to the long-standing liturgical and architectural tradition.

It seems that multi-sanctuary arrangements in the Early and Middle Byzantine churches in Cappadocia had a development parallel to that in the churches of the Christian East. In the early Christian period Cappadocia was a neighbor of Lesser Armenia and Syria, a position which led to close ecclesiastical relations with both countries. In the sixth century monophysite bishops were arrested in Cappadocia.[145] Pilgrimage was another occasion for sharing liturgical traditions. Historical sources inform us that since the time of St. Basil, Cappadocian monks were frequent pilgrims to the Holy Land and Egypt.[146] We also hear that monks

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[139] V. A. Arutunova-Fidanian, tr., *Typik Gregoria Pakuriana* (Erevan 1978) 93, XII:1. This typikon mentioned that it is necessary to light the lamp on the altar at the balustrade. The second altar is difficult to locate.

[140] S. Grishin, "Literary Evidence for the Dating of the Bačkovo Ossuary Frescoes," *Byzantine Papers: Proceedings of the First Australian Byzantine Studies Conference*, 17-19 (Melbourne 1978) 91.

[141] Ibid.

[142] *Typik Gregoria Pakuriana*, 89, VII:4.

[143] *Typik Gregoria Pakuriana*, VII:5.

[144] Porphyrii Uspenskii, *Kniga bytiia moego* (St. Petersburg 1896) III, 73-76.

[145] Restle, "Kappadokien," cols. 112-115.

[146] Cowe, "Pilgrimage," 318, 320.

from Cappadocia, Asia Minor, and Antioch lived and were trained in the monasteries of Palestine. For example, from the life of St. Euthymius (fifth century) we learn that he accepted in his monastery three Cappadocian brothers who became his disciples.[147] The famous Cappadocian St. Saba, who came to Palestine in 456-7, was trained in the monasteries there and finally established his own monastery and typikon.[148] Thus the travels of the monks and their sharing of traditions was perhaps one of the motivating forces for the liturgical and architectural development in these areas.

We do not know whether early churches of Constantinople had several altars. The surviving church buildings of that period show only one apse at the eastern end. We also do not know what the source was for the appearance of the tripartite arrangement of the eastern end of the Constantinopolitan churches of the post-Iconoclast period, and how the side chambers (the so-called diakonikon and prothesis) were used. However, there are literary sources from the Middle Byzantine period which suggest that there must have been additional altars in Constantinople at that time as well. For example, Theophanes Continuatus described the chapel with two altars built by the emperor Theophilus in his palace in Constantinople: "Attached [to the Kamilas] is a chapel containing two altars, one dedicated to Our most-holy Lady, the Mother of God, the other to the archangel Michael."[149]

Theophanes also mentioned that the emperor Theophilus built in the palace of Bryas a triconch church with three sanctuaries.

> The only departure he made [from the Arab model] was that he built next to the bedchamber a church of Our most-holy Lady, the Mother of God, and in the courtyard of the same place a triconch church of great beauty and exceptional size, the middle part of which was dedicated to the Archangel [Michael], while the lateral parts were dedicated to women martyrs.[150]

The ambassador of Henry II, Ruy Gonzales Clavijo, who visited Constantinople in 1402, described the sanctuary of the eleventh-century church of St. Mary Peribleptos:

> In the body of the church are five altars, and the body itself is a round hall, very big and tall, and it is supported on jasper [columns] of different colors and the

[147] Ibid., 320.

[148] Ibid.

[149] Mango, *Art*, 163-164.

[150] Mango, *Art*, 160.

> floor and the walls are joined to it, and the ceiling of the hall and the aisles is one and the same, and is completely wrought in rich mosaic.[151]

Other evidence comes from the English traveler John Mandeville who visited Constantinople in 1322:

> They suffer not the Latins to sing at their altars; And if they do by any chance, they immediately wash the altar with holy water. And they say, that there should be but one mass said at one altar upon one day. They say also that our Lord never ate, but he made sign of eating.[152]

From this text one should assume that in Constantinople in the Middle and Late Byzantine period there was a similar tradition of prohibiting celebration of the liturgy twice on the same altar in the same day. According to Baldovin's study, Constantinople had by that time a very complex multi-liturgical system.[153] One must also keep in mind that besides regular Sunday services, saints' days, and stational liturgies there must have been liturgies for various public needs, that is to say, liturgies for special occasions. Christian worship in this urban center was certainly not limited to one church or one shrine. We know from literary sources that there were oratories in the galleries of Hagia Sophia already in the seventh century.[154] Majeska's study of Russian pilgrims' accounts also offers evidence for the additional altars in the nave of Hagia Sophia in the Middle Byzantine period.[155] Moreover, joint church complexes, double- and triple-church arrangements, were no doubt the result of a complex liturgical atmosphere in the capital. Unfortunately, the loss of many churches in Constantinople does not allow us to have a clear picture of the location of the original altars in the churches. Some suggestions have been offered by Mathews. He cited several monuments whose architectural plans suggest that the altars must have originally been there, such as the gallery chapels of Hagia Eirene, Gül Camii, the multiple east-end chapels on the ground level of the Theotokos Pam-

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[151] Mango, *Art*, 217.

[152] Wright, *Early Travels*, 136.

[153] Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship*, 205-226.

[154] Mathews, *Churches*, 51, 129, 133, 179.

[155] A Russian pilgrim mention the "table" of Abraham in the eastern part of the north aisle of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. The word "table" in the Russian text is written "prestol," which in Old Slavonic means "altar." The pilgrim also mention a shrine of the Archangel Michael in the southwest corner of the narthex in Hagia Sophia, as well as a shrine of the Holy Well at the southeast entrance. These shrines probably had to include altars. See G. P. Majeska, "St. Sophia in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries: The Russian Travelers on the Relics," DOP 27 (1973) 73, 74, 84-87.

makaristos, the Kalenderhane Camii, and Vefa Kilise Camii.[156] Moreover, as mentioned above, the chapel in the palace of the emperor Theophilus had two altars: one dedicated to the Mother of God and the other to the archangel Michael.[157] All these facts suggest that multiplication of the altars in Constantinopolitan churches no doubt reflected the need for extra liturgies.

In conclusion, the sanctuaries of the rock-cut churches in Cappadocia had an architectural development which was independent of Constantinople in their planning from the Early Christian up to the Middle Byzantine period. The horseshoe-shaped apse-bema was used consistently in the churches of this provincial area and had a local origin and continuous development from the early throughout the Midde Byzantine period. Some elements of the sanctuary furnishings, however, such as synthrona, altars, presbyters' seats, and sanctuary screens find their parallels in Constantinople and elsewhere in Byzantium, arguing for a similar custom of having several sanctuaries in a church. Although Cappadocian rock-cut churches show a connection with the similar liturgical arrangement of multiple sanctuaries in the churches of the Christian East, their increased multiplication of sanctuaries in a single church we interpret as a monastic phenomenon of the non-urban environment. These churches are located in the rural countryside and around small villages and towns. In Chapter five we will provide evidence that the dedicatory inscriptions, funeral epitaphs, and the actual presence of monks' and lay persons' graves suggest that the liturgies served for both monks and laity who were responsible for the development of this local architectural tradition.

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[156] Mathews, "'Private' Liturgy," 135.

[157] Mango, *Art*, 163, 164.

CHAPTER II

Naos

While the church's sanctuary was reserved for clergymen, its naos served as a gathering place for both clergy and laity. It was there that the faithful performed their devotional prayers, witnessed the liturgy, and took communion, attended burial and commemorative servises. The whole fabric of various ceremonial rites took place in this church compartment. For these reasons, the naos was not only an area for a liturgical drama but also a gathering place for the members of the parish on various occasions. The question is how its space functioned and served the needs of clergy and parishioners in the rock-cut churches of this rural countryside of the Byzantine world. Studies of various aspects of naos function have been undertaken regarding churches of Constantinople, Rome, Greece, Syria and Egypt.[1] Among these works Mathews' book *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Liturgy and Function* is of particular significance.[2] It brought together archaeological and literary evidence for Constantinopolitan practice. In spite of the relatively large body of literary sources on the function of the naos in these churches, more research is needed. As Mathews pointed out, the furnishings of these churches have scarcely been preserved, and therefore our knowledge about the use of specific parts of the church naves is limited.[3] Concerning the Byzantine provinces, the study of naos function is even more difficult, owing to the lack of liturgical sources as well as the fragmentary state of physical evidence on liturgical furnishing. Fortunately, the data on various aspects of liturgical furnishing in the churches of the Byzantine prov-

[1] For a general discussion on the church nave see L. Bouyer, *Architecture et Liturgie* (Paris 1967); J. G. Davies, *The Origin and Development of Early Christian Architecture* (London 1952) 81-97; Taft, *The Great Entrance*, 14-16, 30, 79, 179-188, 195-198, 312-313, 405-409; Krautheimer, *Architecture*, esp. 224-230, 262-373; Mathews, *Churches*, 117-125, 138-180; Sodini, Kolokotsas, *Aliki*, 255-312; Butler, *Coptic Churches*, II, 1-36; 64-96.

[2] Mathews, *Churches*, 17-125, 138-180.

[3] Mathews, *Churches*, 109. Grabar proposed that some furnishings like water fountains, etc., were developed in Byzantine architecture as a reflection of their use in martyrs' crypts (cf. Grabar, *Martyrium*, I, esp. 474-487), without considering the role of the furnishings in the church liturgy.

inces continue to grow.[4] With regard to Cappadocia, many rock-cut churches preserve their original furnishing *in situ*. Yet, no systematic study of these architectural features has been undertaken. Cut from the rock together with the entire church, the church furniture of Cappadocia is immobile, and thus provides unadulterated evidence for its original use. For that reason the study of these features contributes information on local nave function. In the following chapter we will examine various types of liturgical furnishing, its location, its origin, and its use throughout the history of rock-cut Cappadocian church foundations, and finally, the function of the naos.

Despite the diversity of planning, church naves show a consistency in their liturgical furnishings as well as the location of such features. A typical Cappadocian rock-cut church includes a prothesis niche, a water basin, and a rock-cut bench or individual rock-cut chairs. There is only one case which involves an ambo.

1. Prothesis Niche

The placement of a prothesis niche within the nave proper is a distinctive feature of Cappadocian churches. None of the Byzantine churches of Constantinople or Greece is equipped with a place for the Holy Gifts outside the sanctuary. The presence of this feature within the nave implies a special role for this niche in the Cappadocian service. To understand how it originally served the church's needs, it would be useful to examine the architectural position of the prothesis niche within the nave and the related decorative programs; the latter will provide additional information for its functional context.

Two shapes of prothesis niche are found in the rock-cut churches of Cappadocia: semicircular and rectangular. Most of the churches utilized a semicircular niche like the one in the sixth-or early seventh-century

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[4] On liturgical furnishing of church naves in Greece: G. Sotiriou, *Christianike kai byzantine Archaiologia* (Athens 1942) I, 222 ff; Sodini, *Aliki*, esp. 17-51, 92-131; Jakobs, *Ambone*; in Syrian churches: Lassus, *Sanctuaires*, esp. 184-194; Tchalenko, *Villages*, I, 327-331; R. Taft, "Some Notes on the Bema in the East and West Syrian Tradition," OCP 34 (1968) 326-59; Descoeudres, *Pastophorien*, 160-164; in Palestinian churches: Ovadiah, *Corpus* 196-200; Crowfoot, *Churches*, 6, 7, 42, 43, 46, 47, 96; in the Coptic churches in Egypt; Walters, *Archaeology*, esp. 40-41, 53-59; Butler, *Coptic Churches*, II, 1-36, 64-96; Badawy, "Coptic Water-Jug Stand," 56-61; on sanctuary screens in Georgian churhes: Schmerling, *Malye formy*, esp., 1-39.

Chapel 2a in Avcılar (ill. 28)[5] Elevated high above the floor level, the niche was at a convenient level for the faithful to approach the Holy Gifts with their hands. In its width, the size of the niche could accomodate the paten and the chalice. While it usually varied from church to church, an average niche size is about 30 cm. in depth, 45 cm. in length, and 50 cm. in height. It is this particular type of niche which is found in this area from early Christian time to the end of the Middle Byzantine period. No specific distinction between these niches can be determined among churches of these two periods.

A rectangular niche is much rarer. It has dimensions approximately similar to those discussed previously. This type of niche is found primarily in the churches of the Middle Byzantine period, such as the ninth-century chapel of Joachim and Anna in Kızıl Çukur; the early tenth-century chapel under the Tokalı Kilise; and the mortuary chapel of Abbot Bathystrokos in the tenth-century Karabaş Kilise in Soğanlı, and others (ill. 29).[6]

Location

In Cappadocia a prothesis niche was a part of the church no matter what its architectural type: basilica, cruciform, cross, cross-in-square, or single-, double- or triple-nave or transverse nave. The position of the niche was affected by the individual plan of the church, although it is always found in the northeast area of the church. In a majority of the churches the prothesis niche is placed in the eastern part of the north wall (ill. 29). In cases where space allowed, it was occasionally fitted within the eastern wall near the apse, as, for example, in the new Tokalı Kilise, Kubelli Kilise I (lower church) in Soğanlı, Direcli Kilise in Belisirma, or Tavşanlı Kilise near Ortahhisar, and others (ill. 30).[7] In all these cases, the niche is placed close to the sanctuary, a location that provided easy access for the clergy during the liturgy. It was also visible

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[5] *Arts of Cappadocia*, 202, plan 4; Teteriatnikov, "Burial Places," 144, fig. 2.

[6] For the church of Joachim and Anna in the Kızıl Çukur: Restle, *Wall Painting*, III pl. XXXIII; in the Old Tokalı: Epstein, *Tokalı*, ill. 11; in the Karabaş Kilise: Jerphanion, Plates III, pl. 200 (3).

[7] For the New Tokalı, see Restle, *Wall Painting* II, pl. X and ill. 61; for Kubelli Kilise I, see ibid., III, pl. XLVII; for Tavşanlı Kilise, see ibid., pl. XXXIX and ill. 388. A similarly shaped prothesis niche is found in the St. Stephen church in Cemil: Restle, *Wall Painting* II, pl. LXIII; in Haçlı Kilise in Kızıl Çukur: Restle, *Wall Painting*, I, 145; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 50-53, with bibliography, pl. 39, fig. 1; For the Church of the Holy Apostles in Mustafapaşa, see Jerphanion, Plates III, pl. 150.

for the faithful when the clergy proceeded with the offerings. Moreover, the architectural prominence of the niche allowed the faithful to observe liturgical performance. In addition to the type and location of the niche, its decoration provides information about its significance in the architectural fabric of the church.

Decoration

The decoration of the prothesis niche was a coherent part of the overall nave program. The selection of specific decorative themes was relevant to its specific function. Unfortunately, many churches in this area were left undecorated, while many of them have lost their original paintings. Even among the surviving examples we find that many frescoes have been damaged, and many inscriptions that accompanied the images are gone. Yet a sufficient number of surviving decorations provides evidence on which to form certain conclusions about the prothesis niche program.

Let us first briefly outline the decorative scheme of the prothesis niche. While the back wall of a niche displays a cross or figurative or floral decoration, its vaults were often ornamented with floral or geometric patterns (ill. 31). Depending on the style of the church decoration, the border of a niche could also be outlined with an ornamental band. Other motifs are also found. In the church of St. Barbara in Soğanlı (ca. 1006) we find a representation of a white linen cloth (ill. 32).[8] Painted immediately below the niche, the rectangular linen cloth with red strips along the border is an allusion to an altar cloth that could be employed in this location. A similar detail is depicted below an altar-niche in the Karşi Kilise in Gülşehir.[9] This niche, located within the center of the apse wall, is 70 cm. wide and 45 cm. in depth, large enough to be used as an altar. A painted table cloth below this altar-niche is similar to the one below the prothesis niche in the church of St. Barbara. According to Byzantine church custom, an altar was often covered with a white linen cloth.[10] The depiction of such a textile in the above-mentioned Cappadocian churches refers to the liturgical function of a niche. These Cappadocian examples are not, however, isolated. A white linen cloth is painted on the front side

[8] Restle, *Wall Painting*, III, ill. 433; Jerphanion, ibid., pl. 186 (3).

[9] Restle, *Wall Painting*, III, ill. 468.

[10] According to the Byzantine custom, deacons spread a linen cloth over the altar before the offertory rite: Dix, *Liturgy*, 104.

of the masonry altar in the apse of the Panagia Amasgou at Monagri in Cyprus and below the prothesis niche in the eleventh-century churches of St. Mercury in Corfu and the chapel of St. Nicholas of Katokorakiana, both in Greece.[11]

In general, pictorial representations that are carved or painted on the back wall of prothesis niches fall into six categories: (1) a cross, (2) Christ, (3) the Virgin Mary, (4) saints, martyrs and bishops, (5) selected scenes, (6) donors. In some cases additional images can be found on the side walls of the prothesis niche.

1: Cross

The cross represents one of the earliest images found in the prothesis niche, and appears in both the early Christian and Middle Byzantine churches in Cappadocia. Chapel 6 in Zelve, dated around the sixth century, is the earliest example (ill. 33).[12] The walls and ceiling of this chapel are richly adorned with relief crosses. In addition, a large relief cross occupies the back wall of the prothesis niche, and another cross is placed symmetrically above it. The style and technique of execution of all these crosses in the chapel suggest that they were carved at the same time. If this is so, then the cross appears to be the only decorative motif in the decoration of this chapel. We do not have other examples of a cross decoration in prothesis niches of Early Christian churches of this area, but crosses apparently continued to be used in the prothesis niche in churches of a later period.

In the early ninth-century chapel of Karşi Beçak we find a situation that seems parallel to what we observed in Chapel 6 in Zelve.[13] This chapel was given a decoration consisting primarily of cross images on its ceiling, walls, and apse. There is also a Latin cross carved and painted in red inside the prothesis niche. Another carved and painted cross in red is placed on the wall just to the left of the niche. Both crosses can be seen

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[11] Boyd et al., "The Church of the Panagia Amasgou, Monagri, Cyprus, and its Wall Paintings," DOP 28 (1974) 290, fig. 9.

[12] Teteriatnikov, "Burial places," 149. For further dating of this church, eadem, "Domed Hall," 36-37. Cf. N. Thierry, "L'Iconoclasme en Cappadoce d'après les sources archéologiques. Origines et Modalités, *Rayonnement Greek: Hommage à Charles Delvoye* (Brussels 1982) 398, fig. 6.

[13] On the dating and description of this chapel see Jerphanion, I, 504-510; Lafontaine, "Une problématique," 330; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 70-71, with further bibliography on dating.

under the missing plaster. Unfortunately, we do not know whether a cross was also painted on top of the plaster, since most of the plaster is gone. Considering the fact that the cross was the major image in the decoration, it was probably painted in the prothesis niche as well. In Middle Byzantine churches in this area one finds a cross in the prothesis niche incorporated into figurative decorative programs. Examples are the ninth-century chapel 6 in Mavrucan, Kokar Kilise in Ihlara, and eleventh-century churches such as St. Barbara in Göreme, and Direkli in the Ihlara valley.[14]

The presence of the cross in the prothesis niches refers to the context of the prothesis rite. A eucharistic bread (*prosphora*) is inscribed with the image of the cross, a symbol of Christ's suffering on the cross, his death, and his resurrection. The anaphora of St. Basil (a prayer which the priest said before the eucharist) includes a passage commemorating the cross: "Therefore, Master, we also, mindful of his saving sufferings, of his life-giving cross, of his burial for three days, of his resurrection from the dead, etc."[15]

The demand for a depiction of the cross in the prothesis niche depends upon a pictorial and devotional tradition in central Asia Minor. Although crosses appeared in the church decoration of the Middle Byzantine period in Cappadocia, they were integrated within rich figurative programs. Middle Byzantine churches in this area reveal that metropolitan artistic expectations had an impact on the art of the provinces. Consequently, in addition to a cross, images of Christ, Virgin Mary, and martyrs and saints were included in the decoration of the prothesis niche to satisfy the new religious needs of local communities.

2: Christ

The image of Christ is found only in Middle Byzantine churches. Within the prothesis niche, Christ is shown in different iconographic types: Christ Pantokrator, Emmanuel, and the Mandylion.

The Pantokrator, the half-length image of the Incarnate Christ, is depicted in the prothesis niche of the eleventh-century Yılanlı Kilise in

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[14] The decoration of the prothesis niches in the discussed churches has not been published. In addition to the cited examples, a cross is found in the prothesis niche in the church of the Holy Apostles in Mustafapaşa and in the tenth-century Chapel 15a in Göreme, and the above-mentioned Chapel Karşi Baçak in Avcılar.

[15] Bouyer, *Eucharist*, 295-296, and bibliography note 11.

Ihlara (ill. 8).[16] As Emmanuel, Christ is found in the thirteenth-century Bezirana Kilisesi in Belisirma, Güzelöz n. 4 (Mavrucan), and Tatlarin.[17] In Bezirana the semicircular prothesis niche is located on the east wall to the north of the apse. Facing the naos, this niche was clearly visible to the parishioners. The back wall of this niche is painted with a bust of Christ Emmanuel which occupies the entire surface. Immediately to the left on the east wall of the church is a figure of a deacon holding a pyxis, slightly turned toward the niche. The pyxis is on the same level as the figure of Christ, indicating that the deacon figure refers to the liturgical action near the prothesis niche. A further development in the use of this image for the prothesis niche can be seen in the church of Panagia Asinou in Cyprus, where the prothesis niche is located according to the custom of the churches of Greece, namely within a sanctuary on the north wall. On the back wall of the niche Christ Emmanuel is painted above the Eucharistic chalice (ill. 34).[18] The association of Christ Emmanuel with the decoration of the prothesis niche had a specific meaning deriving from the symbolic meaning of the oblation rite. This image is based on Matthew 1: 23.[19] According to the commentaries on the oblation rite by Nicholas of Andida,[20] and Michael Psellos,[21] Christ Emmanuel was understood as a symbol simultaneously of Bethlehem, (his cradle at birth), and of Christ's coming into the world in the sacra-

[16] Restle, *Wall Painting* III, pl. LVII; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 307-310, with bibliography.

[17] For Bezirana see, Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 315-320, and pl. 175, with further bibliography; for Güzelöz no. 4, see ibid., 248-249, pl.140, fig. 2; for Tatlarin Kilise, see ibid., 233.

[18] For the church of the Panagia at Asinou: V. Seymer, W.H. Buckler, "The Church of Asinou, Cyprus, and its Frescoes," *Archaeologia* 83 (1983) 334, 335, 341 and pl. XCVIII (3). It is important to note that to the left of the representation of a chalice there is a seventeenth-century inscription which mentions the names of bishops, priests, monks and women (one a deceased nun). The presence of their names suggests that they were intended to be commemorated during the offertory rite. A similar image is found in the central apse of the thirteenth-century Kemerli Kilise in Asia Minor: see C. Mango and I. Ševčenko, "Some Churches and Monasteries on the South Shore of the Sea of Marmara," DOP 27 (1973) 239-240. The image of Christ Emmanuel above the chalice is found in the apses of some Middle Byzantine churches: Stefanescu, *Liturgies*, 113, 114, pls. LXVIII, LXIX.

[19] Cf. V. Ruggieri, "La chiesa di Küçük Tavşan Adasi nella Caria Byzantina," JÖB 40 (1990) 397.

[20] "Prothéoria," 10: PG 140, col. 429 C.

[21] P. Joannou, "Aus den inedierten Werken des Psellos: das Lehrgedicht zum Messopfer und der Traktat gegen die Vorbestimmung der Todesstunde," BZ 51 (1958) 5.

ment. Nicholas Cabasilas, explaining the meaning of Christ as an infant, said that he was already offered before his birth.[22] Thus the illustration of the image of Christ Emmanuel in the prothesis niche of the Cappadocian church was probably used as a reference to the rite of the oblation.

In the eleventh-century Saklı Kilise in Göreme the Mandylion, an image of the miraculous acheiropaetos relic, is painted just above the prothesis niche.[23] This image, a symbolic reference both to the Incarnation of Christ and to the Eucharistic rite, is often found in the decoration of Byzantine and Georgian churches.[24] These depictions of Christ, as Pantocrator, Emmanuel, or the Mandylion, whether in the niche or above it, illuminate the function of the niche near the sanctuary.

Representation of various types of Christ in the decoration of the prothesis niches of Middle Byzantine churches elsewhere points to a similarity in their function and meaning. Christ enthroned is represented in the prothesis niche in the eleventh-century crypt of St. Christina in Apulia in South Italy.[25] We find Christ in a Pietá composition also represented in prothesis niches in the churches of Kastoria in Greece, such as Panagia Mavriotissa, Hagioi Anargyroi, and Hagios Nikolaos tou Kasnitzi.[26] A bust of Christ Pantocrator is painted in the prothesis niche in the south chapel of the church of the Mother of God in Studenica.[27] In the latter case two deacons with censers are located above the prothesis niche. As in Cappadocia, representations of deacons indicate the liturgical function of the niche.

The above examples suggest that the depiction of Christ in the prothesis niches of Cappadocian churches had a similar eucharistic meaning. Most of the images of Christ are found in Cappadocian churches dating

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[22] PG 150, cols. 380-381; S. Salaville tr. *Explication de la Divine Liturgie* (Paris 1967) 60, 62, 80.

[23] Restle, *Wall Painting*, II, pl. II(M) and ill. 21; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 85, with bibliography. The Mandylion also appears in Chapel 21 (St. Catherine) in Göreme (Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 127, and pl. 79, fig. 2).

[24] T. Iliopoulou-Rogan, "Quelques fresques caractéristiques des églises byzantines du Magne," CEB XV, Athens 1976 (1981) II, A, 211, 212. For the symbolism of the Mandylion: A. Grabar, *La Sainte Face de Laon. Le Mandylion dans l'art orthodoxe* (Prague 1931) 14-37; T. Velmans, "Le église de Khé, en Géorgie," *Zograf* 10 (1979) 74-78; N. Thierry, "Deux notes à propos du Mandylion," *Zograf* 11 (1980) 16-17, figs. 2-5; N. K. Moutsopoulos, G. Demetrokalles, *Geraki: hoi ekklesies tou oikismou* (Thessalonike 1981) 186, fig. 292; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 85, note 25, 127, note 338.

[25] G. Cavallo et al., *I bizantini in Italia* (Milano 1982) 268-269, and figs. 182, 183.

[26] The prothesis niches of these churches were not published.

[27] Babić, *Les chapelles*, fig. 109.

from the eleventh century on, when the tendency toward a more concrete pictorial representation of the liturgical drama was developed.

3: The Virgin Mary

In several instances images of the Virgin Mary are found in the prothesis niche. In Karabaş Kilise in Soğanlı[28] the bust of the Virgin holding the Christ Child is depicted on the side of the niche belonging to the second layer of frescoes dated to 1060-1061.[29] In the prothesis niche of the New Tokalı Kilise in Göreme there is an image of the Virgin Eleousa which belongs to the original mid-tenth-century layer of frescoes.[30] This niche is located in the wall between the central and the north sanctuary with its decoration well visible to the faithful from the nave. The image of the Virgin and Christ Child occupies the entire surface of the niche. Since the latter is of large size, the image of the Virgin would have been perceived by the viewer as a votive icon.

4: Saints, Martyrs, and Bishops

Saints, martyrs, and bishops were used frequently to decorate prothesis niches in the Middle Byzantine Cappadocian church. These holy images were usually depicted half-length, blessing with their right hand and holding a cross in the left. Bishops commonly hold a Gospel book. Many of these images, however, are difficult to identify due to mutilation. Nevertheless, extant inscriptions show that the most venerable and popular saints, martyrs and bishops were chosen for prothesis niche decoration.

St. Basil, a Cappadocian church father and liturgical author, is identified by inscriptions and his distinct physiognomy. He was usually depicted as dark-haired with a dark pointed beard. We find his image in the prothesis niche in the tenth-century Chapel 9 in Göreme and in Kubelli Kilise I (lower church) in Soğanlı, as well as others.[31] A bust of St. Basil

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[28] Jerphanion, II 333-360; Restle, *Wall Painting*, III, pl. XLVIII(C); Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 266-270, with further bibluiography.

[29] Jerphanion, II, 333-360.

[30] Restle, *Wall Painting*, II: X(C); N. Thierry, "La Vierge de tendresse à l'époque macédonienne," *Zograf*, 10 (1979), 59-70, with bibliography.

[31] On Chapel 9, see Jerphanion, I, 121-137; Restle, *Wall Painting*, I, 38, 117-119; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 109-111, with further bibliography. For Kubelli Kilise I, see Jerphanion, II, 292-302; Restle, *Wall Painting*, III, pl. XLVII (302) and ill. 444; Jolivet-Lévy, ibid., 263-265, with further bibliography, and pl. 146. Individual portraits of St. Basil appear in several churches in Cappadocia, such as Chapel 33 (Meryemana), see

decorates the entire north apse just above the altar of the eleventh-century Chapel 33 (Meryemana Kilise) in Göreme.[32]

St. Saba, a church father and Cappadocian by birth, is found on the back of a prothesis niche in the church of St. Barbara in Soğanlı, dated between 1006 and 1021 (ill. 32).[33] His monastery near Jerusalem was a center of monastic training as well as a pilgrimage center in Early and Middle Byzantine times.[34]

Germanus of Constantinople is depicted in the semicircular prothesis niche in the north wall near the north sanctuary in the new Tokalı Kilise in Göreme (ill. 35).[35] However, his presence in the niche was not noticed previously by scholars who described this church. Germanus of Constantinople appears also among the church fathers in the apse of the early tenth-century Chapel 15a in Göreme, and in the middle tenth-century Pigeon House in Çavuşın.[36] In the description of various church fathers in the Tokalı Kilise cited by Walter, we find that five of them were Constantinopolitan:[37] Eutychius, George, Proclus, Metrophanes, Athanasius and Tarasius. If we add to this number an image of Germanus in the prothesis niche, we find that this is the largest number of Constantinopolitan church fathers that has ever been painted by Constantinopolitan artists.[38] By presenting such a large number of Constantinopolitan church fathers, this fresco program suggests orientation toward the Byzantine capital. The presence of Germanus of Constantinople points to the power of Constantinople but also to the popularity of his mystagogical treatise in one tenth-century Cappadocian church.

Restle, ibid., II, pl. XXV (302); the Chapel 10 (St. Daniel), see Jerphanion, Plates I, pl. 39 (4); Direkli Kilise, see Walter, *Art and Ritual*, 231; Ballik Kilise and Chapel 3 in Güllü Dere, see Walter, ibid., 229. In addition, scenes from St. Basil's *Life* appear also in the New Tokalı Kilise and chapel 3 in Balkan Dere, see Jerphanion, I, 358-364; II, 50-56.

[32] Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 143, 146, pl. 9.

[33] Restle, *Wall Painting*, III, pl. XLVI (407); Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 258-262, with bibliography.

[34] J. Patrich, *Saba, Leader of Palestinian Monasticism*, DOS 32 (Washington, D.C., 1995).

[35] The image of Germanus of Constantinople was omitted from Jerphanion's and other scholars' descriptions of the pictorial subjects in the New Tokalı Kilise.

[36] Walter, *Art and Ritual*, 227, 229.

[37] Ibid, 227, 229-230

[38] Epstein, *Tokalı Kilise*, 29-32.

Sts. Cosmas and Damian are depicted on the side walls of the above-mentioned church of St. Barbara.[39] They are doctor saints and healers, and are found in church decoration in this area. Sts. Sergius and Bacchus are another pair of saints whom we encounter in the prothesis niche in Karabaş Kilise in Soğanlı.[40]

Military saints appeared in some instances. St. Theodore Stratelates, a military saint, is found in the first half of the tenth-century Pürenli Seki Kilise in Ihlara.[41] He is one of the most popular figures among military saints in local churches, particularly in the eleventh-century Yılanlı group.[42] St. Orestes is painted together with other saints in the prothesis niche of the above-discussed Karabaş Kilise in Soğanlı.[43] He is also a familiar military saint often found in Cappadocian frescoes.

Judging by the names of saints, martyrs and bishops, it appears that the most venerable saints with local connections were selected for veneration. St. Basil and St. Saba were church fathers who were native Cappadocians. St. Basil was a Cappadocian church father and an author of the most frequently used Liturgy. Representations of him and scenes from his life are found in several churches.[44] He was a model for monastic life all over Byzantium. St. Saba was born in Cappadocia and wrote the typicon for his monastery near Jerusalem.[45] Other saints that appear in prothesis niches are also known for their protective qualities. It appears that the choice of saints for the decoration of the prothesis niche fell upon locally venerated saints and church fathers.

The depiction of locally venerated saints finds parallels in the decoration of prothesis niches in churches of Greece and other areas of Byzantium. For example, St. Akindynos is depicted on the back of the prothesis niche in the late eleventh- and early twelfth-century church of Panagia Protothrone at Chalki, Naxos.[46]

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[39] Restle, *Wall Painting*, III, pl. XLVI (154-155), ill. 433. For bibliography see note 33, above.

[40] Restle, *Wall Painting*, III, pl. XLVIII (181-182).

[41] Restle, *Wall Painting*, III, pl. LIV (136); Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 303-305, with bibliography.

[42] Epstein, "Rock-cut Chapels," 116, and bibliography, note 5.

[43] Restle, *Wall Painting*, III, pl. XLVIII (133). For bibliography, see Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 266-270.

[44] For examples of St. Basil in the apses of churches, see Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 361.

[45] Cowe, "Pilgrimage," 320.

[46] Chatzidakis, *Naxos*, 30-33, and figs. 1-3.

The use of the church fathers and saints in the prothesis niches of Cappadocian churches can also be linked to the liturgical rite. In fact, the above-mentioned anaphora of St. Basil includes commemoration of "... the martyrs, the confessors, the doctors and every righteous spirit accomplished in the faith."[47]

5: Selected Scenes

The multiple layers of meaning in theological dogma allowed an artist greater freedom in choosing a theme for church decoration. When observing the images displayed above the place of the oblation, we find that certain subjects were preferred for their symbolic juxtaposition to the text and performance of the prothesis rite. Scenes such as the Presentation of the Virgin, the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, the Anastasis, and the Raising of Lazarus expressed various aspects of the Eucharistic rite.

The selection of iconographic subjects on the barrel vault above the prothesis niche in the early tenth-century Chapel 9 in Göreme is of particular interest.[48] The western half of the vault presents a picture of Mary with the elders. They are proceeding toward the east to the next scene, the Virgin Fed by an Angel, located just above the prothesis niche. Mary is depicted as seated in front of an altar while a flying angel passes her the Holy Food. These two scenes, the Presentation of the Virgin and the Virgin Fed by an Angel parallel the rite of the oblation: The Presentation of Mary in the Temple symbolises the offering and the Virgin Fed by an Angel is a reference to the blessed bread and wine. Thus, the placement of these scenes is governed by their context adjacent to the prothesis niche. The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple and the Virgin Fed by an Angel were recognized by scholars as Eucharistic foreshadowings in Byzantine church decoration.[49] Outside of Cappadocia, these scenes

[47] Bouyer, *Eucharist*, 296 with bibliography note 11.

[48] Jerphanion, Plates I, pl. 34; Restle, *Wall Painting*, II, pl. XII, ill. 125.

[49] J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie de l'enfance de la Virge dans l'Empire byzantin et en Occident* (Brussels, 1964) I, 136, 137; N. B. Drandakis, *Byzantinai toichographiai tes mesa Manes* (Athens 1964) 37 and pl. 32 a; Moutsopoulos, Demetrokalles, *Geraki* (see note 24 above) 107 and figs. 163, 191, fig. 301, pls. 64, 70. For the use of this theme in the liturgy, see I. Nicolaïdès, *Menaion for November* (Athens 1905) 142.

are found, for instance, in the church of Panagia Phorbiotissa in Asinou, Cyprus and other Byzantine churches.[50]

The Presentation of Christ in the Temple is depicted above the prothesis niche on the barrel vault in Chapel 1 in Güllü Dere and near the prothesis niche in the eleventh-century Saklı Kilise in Göreme.[51] This scene also appears above the prothesis niche in the ninth-century Chapel of Joachim and Anna in Kızıl Çukur.[52] Here, the elongated semicircular niche is tall, almost close to the height of the cornice, giving the impression to the viewer that the image of Christ on the vault is just above it, visually indicating its relevance to the rite of the oblation.

The scenes discussed above (the Virgin Mary Fed by an Angel and the Presentation of Christ in the Temple) illustrate to the viewer the concept of the offertory rite as a part of the Eucharist. These iconographic scenes were also used to show the purpose of the Eucharist: resurrection and salvation.

The scene of the Anastasis as representing the meaning of the feast of Easter, the focus of the liturgical year, was often used to symbolize the culmination of the Eucharist.[53] Kartsonis has pointed out that the Anastasis image was used as an illustration of the paschal theme in the service.[54] In Cappadocian frescoes this subject was used to illustrate several layers of meaning, among which the context of the Eucharist is implied in the specific location of the scene. In the church of St. Barbara in Soğanlı, a large picture of the Anastasis occupies half of the north vault above the prothesis niche (ill. 36).[55] The narrative of the scene and the way it unfolds above the prothesis niche is striking. The north part of the barrel vault is dedicated to only two scenes: the Birth of Christ and the Anastasis. In exactly the same manner, the Anastasis is painted above

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[50] Seymer, Buckler, "Asinou," 342.

[51] Restle, *Wall Painting*, I, 39, 40; III, pl. XXVII, ill. 330; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 27-29, pl. 26, fig. 1, with further bibliography; Thierry, *Haut Moyen-Âge*, 107, pl 39 (a).

[52] Restle, *Wall Painting*, III, pl. XXXIII; N. and M. Thierry, "Église de Kızıl Tchoukour,. chapelle iconoclaste, chapelle de Joachim et Anne," MonPiot 50 (1958), 105-146.

[53] Kartsonis, *Anastasis*, 17, 134-137, 144-146, 148-150, 233.

[54] Ibid.

[55] For St. Barbara, see Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler*, 153; Jerphanion, II, 247; Restle, *Wall Painting*, III, pl. XLVI(DXIV) and ill. 433; *Arts of Cappadocia*, Plan 5, (14); Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 254.

the prothesis niche in the Karabaş Kilise in the same village.[56] The Anastasis is found also in the eleventh-century Pürenli Seki Kilise in the Ihlara valley.[57] The barrel vault in this church is divided into two registers. Above the prothesis niche we find two scenes: the Entombment and the Anastasis. The scene of the Anastasis is represented above a prothesis niche in other churches including Chapel 6 and Kılıçlar Kilise in Göreme.[58]

The Raising of Lazarus, considered a counterpart to the Anastasis, is rare among the subjects which are associated with the prothesis niche. We find its depiction on the back of the prothesis niche of the eleventh-century Bahatin Kilise in Belisirma.[59] The representation of the Raising of Lazarus within the prothesis niche itself suggests that its context as a symbol of the Resurrection of Christ was probably considered relative to its function. As Christ raised Lazarus, whom he loved, from the dead, so he will give all the faithful everlasting life through the Eucharist.

In summary, Byzantine iconography was a didactic tool which was used to express a particular meaning or the significance of a specific place in the church, and as such it was woven into the fabric of the liturgical performance. More specifically, the imagery was not used as a storytelling device but was chosen for a particular purpose — to convey a message about the place where the Holy Gifts were displayed.

6: Donors

The portrait of a donor is occasionally found in prothesis niches. All known donor portraits are depicted on the west wall of the prothesis niche. They are portrayed standing in prayer and turning toward the center of the niche and the sanctuary. In this way, we find a priest named Basil (probably a donor) represented on the western wall of the prothesis niche in Karabaş Kilise in Soğanlı.[60] On his side there is an invocation of a donor. In Derin dere Kilise near Mustafapaşa (ninth century ?) a small

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[56] Restle, *Wall Painting*, III, pl. XLVIII(DXIV), ills. 456, 462. cf. Kartsonis, *Anastasis*, 213.

[57] Restle, *Wall Painting*, III, pl. LIV (DXIV), ills. 483, 487; Kartsonis, *Anastasis*, 68, note 87.

[58] For illustration of the Anastasis in Chapel 6, see Restle, *Wall Painting*, II, pl. VIII (DXIV) and ill. 53; in Kılıçlar Kilise, ibid., pl. XXIV (DXIV).

[59] Restle, *Wall Painting*, III, pl. LXI (CXIX); Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 320-323, with further bibliography.

[60] Jerphanion, II, 340.

figure of a donor-monk is placed just to the west of the prothesis niche near the Stylite Saint (ill. 37).[61] The appearance of a donor portrait in this chapel, which has limited decoration, is very important. Only the walls that are related to areas directly involved in the liturgy — apse, prothesis niche, and water basin — were decorated. The rest of the church was left undecorated. The donor probably could not afford to complete the fresco program. Because of this, his depiction near the prothesis niche is of particular interest. It is clear then that he wanted to be represented near the place where the offerings were accepted.

There is another example which further stressed the importance of the donor being represented near the prothesis niche. A group of donor-monks is depicted to the north of the prothesis niche of the furthermost chapel in the early tenth-century Karabaş Kilise in Soğanlı (ill. 38).[62] An abbot named Bathystrokos and a dedicatory inscription referring to him are painted on the eastern wall near the prothesis niche. His two sons, also monks, are placed next to him on the north wall. All the monks are holding crosses. However, the way the cross is represented differs from its depiction in saint portraits. Whereas saints are usually portrayed holding the cross in front of their chests, the monks in Karabaş Kilise raise their crosses above their heads in processions.[63] We know from the inscription that the abbot Bathystrokos was a donor of this monastic complex, which consisted of four isolated chapels.[64] The first chapel from the south, where he and his sons are depicted, was probably a family burial chamber and graves are found in the pavement. The chamber has its own sanctuary and prothesis niche. The depiction of the whole family near the prothesis niche suggests that commemorative services took place in this chapel on behalf of the donors. The offering for the deceased would then be placed in the prothesis niche. In fact, all the donors represented were abbot and monks, and one may conclude that they performed the liturgy themselves.

The three examples discussed above show donor-monks placed near the prothesis niche. Visually they are depicted in the same way they

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[61] G. P. Schiemenz, "Jakobsbrunnen im Tiefen Tal," OCA 204 (1977) 155-180 and fig. 5; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 189-191, with further bibligraphy, 189.

[62] Jerphanion, II, 356-358. For further bibliography, see note 34, above.

[63] J. A. Cotsonis, *Byzantine Figural Processional Crosses* (Washington, D.C., 1994) 14-32.

[64] Jerphanion, II, 356-358.

would have stood during the liturgy: just to the west of the prothesis niche and facing the sanctuary.

It appears that the subjects chosen, particularly those for the decoration of the prothesis niche, were restricted to the cross, Christ, the Blessed Virgin, saints, martyrs, and bishops. The explanation for the selection of these holy images is found within the eucharistic rite. When the holy bread (prosphora) was prepared for the Eucharist, a small particle of it was set aside for Christ, the Virgin Mary, the saints and martyrs.[65] Moreover, during the Eucharistic prayer (the anaphora), martyrs, saints and church fathers were the first to be commemorated together with the Virgin Mary and John the Baptist.[66] Therefore, the role of saints and martyrs as intercessors in the Eucharist is one of the reasons for their popularity in the prothesis niches. The frequent use of the Anastasis, as symbol of Christ's death and his resurrection, above the prothesis niche can also be explained by its reference to the Eucharistic prayer, the anaphora. In fact the anaphora of St. Basil is focused on the commemoration of Christ's death and resurrection in a very detailed fashion.[67]

The location of the prothesis niche had another functional meaning. As a focus of special use, it dictated the direction in which the faithful proceeded within the church. After entering the church, approaching the water basin, and praying before the images, the faithful then proceeded to the table of offering. Therefore they had to pause near the prothesis niche in order to make an oblation, and thus the prothesis niche was an important stopping point before the start of the liturgy. It also reserved a special place during the liturgy for those clerics who needed to be nearby as the action unfolded. With regard to the division of the church, that is, the area between the prothesis niche and the sanctuary, it was reserved for the clergy during the liturgy. The deacons, who were appointed to bring the holy gifts from the niche of the oblation to the altar, probably stood near the niche. Finally, we have to take into account the fact that because the prothesis niche was part of the nave, it could be observed by the faithful, and so it made the liturgical rite more comprehensible as well. Its visual appearance in the nave gave the Cappadocian prothesis niche a very special character.

[65] Walter, *Art and Ritual*, 235.

[66] Bouyer, *Eucharist*, 288.

[67] Bouyer, ibid., 288 and esp. 290-304.

2. Water Basin

A rock-cut water basin frequently appears in the church nave. In order to identify the function of Cappadocian water basins, it would be useful first to consider the various types and specific uses of basins in Byzantine churches in other regions.

Three types of water basins are known in Byzantine churches from Early Christian times on: (1) baptismal fonts, (2) *louteria*, and (3) *phialai*. Scholars have distinguished a variety of types and arrangements of baptismal fonts in Byzantine churches. In the Early Christian period a special building, a baptistery, housed the baptismal font.[68] In the circular Middle Byzantine buildings, stone, marble, or metal basins were often placed in the church narthex or in the western part of the nave. Most of these containers are free-standing, small size, or larger; their inner dimensions corresponded to an early tradition of adult baptism. From the Middle Byzantine period, however, the majority of the baptismal fonts were intended to be used for children; adults were baptized only in rare instances. The size of the font thus reflected a significant change in the baptism ritual.

A second type of water basin, the *louterion*, was constructed in the shape of a fountain with running water.[69] It usually stood at the center of the atrium in early Christian basilicas. Similarly, it was often used in the atrium of the Middle Byzantine monasteries, as for instance, the one in the Great Lavra on Mount Athos.[70]

The third type of vessel was the *phiale*, found in a variety of forms and materials.[71] *Phialai* were formed in the shape of a vase, or round vessel, and could be made of stone, marble or metal. *Phialai* usually stood inside the church narthex or in the western part of the nave. In the large patriarchal church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople there were a number of *phialai* in the nave and the narthex, and *louteria* in the courtyard area. The function of the *phiale*, however, was similar to that of a *louterion*. Both were used during the feast of the Epiphany for the blessing of the

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[68] Leclerq, "Baptistère," cols. 382-469.

[69] Leclerq, "Bénitier," cols. 758-771. For a more detailed analysis of its types and use in Byzantine churches, see Millet, "Phiale," 105-141, with further references.

[70] Millet, "Phiale," 106-108, fig. 12.

[71] For the types, function and use, see Leclerq, "Baptistère," cols. 382-469; Millet, "Phiale," 108-110. Millet demonstrated that the functions of *louterion* and *phiale* were often confused in Byzantine churches, according to the literary sources: Millet, ibid, 110-115.

holy water.[72] Moreover, they served as fountains of ablution.[73] With this knowledge of the range of Byzantine water basins, let us look at the Cappadocian water basins, their shape, size and location in churches, in order to understand the particular type to which the Cappadocian water basin belongs.

Types

Two types of water basins are encountered in Cappadocian churches: (1) a round rock-cut basin shaped like a vessel, usually attached to the church wall, and (2) a round basin carved into the bottom of a rock-cut niche. In the latter case, the niche can be rectangular or semicircular. Both are found in Early Christian times and throughout the Middle Byzantine period.

The round or elongated vessel shape is rather rare in churches, but several examples of this kind are found in Early and Middle Byzantine times. This vessel was round, stood on the church's pavement, and was attached to its wall. The round shape suggests that this type of rock-cut basin was an imitation of free-standing water vessels which once stood in Byzantine churches. A marble water vessel in the church of the Virgin in Katapoliani, Paros, parallels the ones in Cappadocia (ill. 39).[74] While most of the Byzantine water basins were free-standing vessels, Cappadocian water basins were almost always attached to the wall of the church.

The earliest and largest water basin of this type is found in the basilica of Durmuş Kadir dating to the 6th or early 7th century (ill. 40).[75] A round basin with a carved molding around its rim, it stands in the southwest corner of the basilica, fitted into the space between the benches of the southern and western walls. Due to its location, the vessel was visible through the open archway of the arcade. Although the overall dimensions are large, the piscina inside the vessel is rather small and was not intended to hold a child during the baptismal ceremony. The inner size of this basin is 50 cm. in depth and 35 cm. in diameter. A similar but

[72] Ibid, 116-141.

[73] Ibid.

[74] H. H. Jewell, R. W. Hasluck, *The Church of Our Lady of the Hundred Gates (Panagia Hekatontapyliani) in Paros* (London 1920) 49-52, pl. 1. A similar water vessel is found in the fourteenth-century Serbian church of Gračanica. Originally it was located in the southeast corner of the exonarthex, see Ćurčić, "Baptismal Font," 313 ff., and figs. 1-5.

[75] See above, Chapter 1, note 17.

smaller basin is located in the crypt under Old Tokalı Kilise in the Göreme valley and dates to the first quarter of the tenth century (ill. 41).[76] The Tokalı vessel was carved as a round bowl without any molding or decorative motifs. Its interior measures 40 cm. in depth by 30 cm. in diameter. As in Durmuş Kadir, this water basin is located in the southwest corner of the chapel between the benches. Another water basin of this sort is preserved in the upper chapel of the same church, Old Tokalı Kilise (ill. 42).[77] Unfortunately, it has been considerably damaged and its remains allow us only to reconstruct its original shape. This water basin is located in the southeast corner of the nave close to the original sanctuary of the Old Tokalı. Although its location is different from the one in the lower chapel, its shape is similar. It is elevated from the floor by a cubical platform. This platform is very high now, because the floor level of the Old Tokalı was leveled during the construction of the new church. Therefore, the water basin was originally just above the level of the bench. Though the front side of the water basin was demolished some time ago, the back has been fairly well preserved. The hollowed inner side of its back is similar in size to the vessel in the crypt chapel discussed above, which helped to identify it as a water basin.[78] There is, however, another water basin whose location and arrangement seems similar to those in the Old Tokalı Kilise and therefore allows us to argue more conclusively that what remains in the Old Tokalı church is a water basin.

The church of St. Theodore near Ürgüp provides further evidence for identifying the Old Tokalı water basin. The church can be dated some time around the first decades of the tenth century[79] and so the arrangement of the basin may have been contemporary to the one in the Old Tokalı Kilise. Unlike the funeral chapel under the Old Tokalı and the Old Tokalı church, the water basin in St. Theodore's church appears almost in the middle of the south wall. Similar to other examples, it is fitted within a corner formed by the projection of the south wall. Here, as in the Old Tokalı, the architects elevated the water basin on a cubical ped-

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[76] Teteriatnikov, "Burial Places," fig. 8.

[77] Restle, *Wall Painting*, II, pl. X and ill. 61; Epstein, *Tokalı*, ill. 12.

[78] Restle, *Wall Painting*, III, ill. XXXVI; Epstein, *Tokalı*, ill. 3,

[79] For the ninth- and tenth-century dating: Jerphanion, II, 17-47; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 219-222. Jolivet-Lévy thinks that the architecture is earlier than the painting. Restle dates this church to the early eleventh century (*Wall Painting*, I, 17, 68, 148, 149, III, pl. XXXVI, ills. 374-397); *Arts of Cappadocia*, plan 2, (2).

estal. However, they placed it not directly on the ground as in the funeral chapel under Old Tokalı or in Durmuş Kadir Kilise, but high above the floor level. The shape of the water basin appears to be different from all previous examples. Not made to resemble a round vessel, it was simply left as a cubical shape and hollowed inside. The idea of this design is very similar to that of holy water stoups often found in medieval churches in England.[80]

These surviving examples of water basins were all intended to give an impression of freestanding furniture. All the round vessels are shaped like bowls similar to those used in the Early and Middle Byzantine churches. Their small inner size suggests that they were close to the function of the *phialai* and were used to hold holy water rather than for baptizing children. Further examination of the shape and location of the second type of water basin seems further to confirm this suggestion.

The second group of water basins is distinguished by shape and placement. Vessels of this kind appear as part of the wall. Thus, the round piscina of the vessel is hollowed out at the base of a semicircular niche. As part of the wall, a niche-water basin is usually elevated to a height convenient for being reached by hands. The niche that shelters the basin served to protect it from dust and other pollutants. This may be the reason why this sort of basin is the most common and widely found in the churches of this region. With very few exceptions, the majority of water basins are of approximately the same size (30 or 40 cm. in diameter and 30 cm. in depth). This size is too small for baptizing children by immersion. These small dimensions preclude a baptismal function.

Two early Christian examples, however, are exceptions. Their niches and the size of the piscina are rather large. One is found in Chapel 3 in Mavrucan.[81] Its location is unusual: it is carved in a large niche in the western part of the north wall. Its size is ample: about 60 cm. in diameter and 80 cm. in depth. Moreover, the water basin has a slight recess around the border of its mouth which suggests that originally it was covered with some sort of lid. A water basin of similar size is found in another probably sixth-century Baptismal church in Zelve (ill. 43),[82] named undoubtedly after the large water basin in a niche in the western part of

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[80] J. C. Fox and A. Harvey, *English Church Furniture* (New York 1907) 235-239 and figs. pp. 236-239.

[81] See above, Chapter 1, note 10. For the plan of the Chapel 3 in Mavrucan, Thierry, "Art byzantin," 236 and fig. 3.

[82] The plan of this church has not been published.

the south wall. Because of the large size of the piscina, these two examples may have been used for baptismal ceremonies. On the other hand, their location is similar to that of the small water basins, suggesting that they might also have been used to contain holy water for ablution.

As mentioned above, the majority of water basins in this group are small in size. They vary from each other in the shape of the niche and its decoration. This kind of water basin was found in the sixth- or early seventh-century mortuary chapel in Avcılar.[83] A very neatly carved semicircular elongated niche includes a round shallow vessel measuring 35 cm. in diameter and 25 cm. in depth. It is cut in the eastern part of the south wall, very close to the sanctuary. This particular type of water basin was widely utilized in the local rock-cut churches. Similar basins are also found in other early Christian churches, such as the small chapel across from the St. John basilica in Çavuşın.[84] Water basins do not change shape during Middle Byzantine times, as seen in churches: the Derin dere Kilisesi, the tenth-century Chapels 9 and 15a in Göreme, Chapel 1 in Güllü Dere, eleventh-century churches such as Yılanlı Kilise in Ihlara, Chapel 17 in Göreme, and others (ill. 44).[85]

In spite of the variations in shape of the two types of water basin discussed above, both share a similar location in the nave.

Location

The water basin can be found in two parts of the church. Most are found in the western part of the church; several examples are found in the eastern part of the south wall.

One group of churches places the water basin in the western wall. A majority of churches of this group display it to the right of the door entrance. Such an arrangement can be seen in the sixth- or seventh-century basilica of Durmuş Kadir in Avcılar, the early tenth-century funeral chapel under Old Tokalı Kilise in Göreme, the early tenth-century Derindere Kilisesi, and the eleventh-century Direkli Kilise in the Ihlara valley

[83] For the plan, see Teteriatnikov, "Burial Places," fig.2.

[84] It is a small, single-nave, barrel-vaulted chapel. Its plan has not been published.

[85] For the plan of Chapel 9, see Restle, *Wall Painting*, II, pl. XII; for Chapel 15, see Schiemenz, "Verschollene Malereien in Göreme," 75; for Chapel 1 in Güllü Dere, see Restle, ibid., III, pl. XXVII; for Yılanlı Kilise, ibid., pl. LVII and 498; for Chapel 17, see *Arts of Cappadocia*, 120 and pl. 61.

(ill. 44).[86] Several churches contain water basins in the western part of the north wall, such as in the sixth- or seventh-century Chapel 3 in Güzelöz (Mavrucan) and the tenth-century Tokalı Kilise in Soğanlı, a small chapel just across from the basilica of St. John in Çavuşın, and the eleventh-century Kokar Kilise in Ihlara (ill. 45).[87]

With regard to the south wall, several variations in the location of water basins can also be identified. Only three examples place the water basin in the eastern part of the south wall and close to the sanctuary. This arrangement appears in the sixth- or seventh-century mortuary chapel in Avcılar, in the tenth-century Kubelli Kilise I (lower church) in Soğanlı, and in the early tenth-century Old Tokalı Kilise in Göreme.[88] Several have been found in the middle of the south wall: for instance, in the tenth-century church of St. Theodore near Ürgüp or the eleventh-century Yılanlı Kilise in the Ihlara valley (ill. 46).[89] Chapel 6 in Zelve displays it to the south of an apse in the eastern wall.[90] Occasionally, the basin is found in the western part of the south wall, as seen in the chapels of Göreme, the tenth-century Chapels 9 and 15a, and the eleventh-century Chapel 10 (St. Daniel).[91]

The majority of water basins are located close to the western part of the church: the western wall, or the western part of the south or north wall, a placement that corresponds to the needs of the congregation. Very few churches have it in the eastern part of the south wall. In the Greek Euchologion, Goar mentioned that the water basin was usually located in

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[86] For Durmuş Kadir, see Thierry, "Quelques monuments," fig. 5; for the plan of the funeral chapel under the Old Tokalı, see Teteriatnikov, "Burial Places," 144-145, and fig. 8; Epstein, *Tokalı*, ill. 3; for Direcli Kilise, see Restle, *Wall Painting*, III, pl. LXII.

[87] For Chapel 3 in Mavrucan, see above, Chapter 1, note 10; see also Thierry, "Art byzantin," fig. 3; for Kokar Kilise, see Restle, *Wall Painting*, III, pl. LII, ill. 474. The chapel near the St. John the Baptist basilica in Çavuşın has not been published.

[88] For Chapel 2a in Avcılar, see *Arts of Cappadocia*, 202, plan 4; Teteriatnikov, "Burial Places," 144, fig. 2; for Kubelli Kilise I, Restle, *Wall Painting*, III, pl. XLVII; for Old Tokalı Kilise, ibid., II, pl. X and ill. 61; Epstein, *Tokalı*, 7, 8, 14-23, fig. 12. The water basin in the Old Tokalı was not discussed.

[89] For St. Theodore near Ürgüp, see Restle, ibid., III, pl. XXXVI and ill. 374; For Yılanlı Kilise, see ibid., pl. LVII and ill. 498. The Chapel in Meskendir valley has not been published.

[90] A plan of this chapel has not been published.

[91] For the plans of Chapel 9 and Chapel 15a, see chapter 1, notes 87-88 above. The water basin in Chapel 10 (St. Daniel) has not been included in the published plan. The round vessel in this chapel is cut near the western wall.

the western part of Byzantine churches.[92] If Cappadocian water basins fulfilled the same function as the Byzantine *phiale*, then their arrangement close to the church entrance becomes clear. According to Paulus Silentiarius, *phialai* stood in many places in the narthex and the nave of Hagia Sophia, particularly near the entrances.[93] Their location near the church entrance was associated with their function as water basins for ablutions.[94] Cleansing the face and hands was customary for everyone who entered the church. The holy water which stood in the church through the whole year was meant to evoke the Holy Spirit for the faithful as well as the miraculous power of Christ's Baptism. Therefore this custom of making ablutions was a daily devotion in keeping with the sanctity of the place. The powerful role of water was expressed in the decoration of some of the niches sheltering the water basin as well as the surrounding painted programs in Cappadocian churches.

Decorations

Many water basins, including the round ones discussed above, imitations of real vessels, do not possess any decoration at all. Many of them have lost their paintings. In some cases, however, the painted or carved images decorating a niche or a wall above it also survive. Using a single image or a cycle of scenes, the artist conveyed to the viewer the function of the water basin and symbolic messages associated to that function. The message was a pictorial illustration of the miraculous powers of holy water, easily understood by the viewer due to association with church ritual.

Two locations sustain painted decoration: the semicircular or rectangular niches which shelter the water container, and the wall itself above the round standing or niche-type water basin.

Several patterns are found in the decoration of the wall within a niche above the piscina. All examples known to me have a carved or painted image of a cross symmetrically depicted on the back of the niche. Various decorative motifs are also included within the overall design of a niche. One can see an example of such decoration in the early tenth-cen-

[92] Goar, 358-372.

[93] Mango, *Art*, 85 and notes 140, 141. The fountain at the center of the courtyard of Hagia Sophia was used for the ceremony of the blessing of water during the feast of the Epiphany. Cf. Millet, "Phiale," 105-141.

[94] Millet, "Phiale," 105-141, esp. 109.

tury Chapel 9 in Göreme (ill. 47).[95] The curve of the niche containing the water vessel was plastered and painted, as was the rest of the church. A Latin cross painted in red ochre occupies a central space in the upper part of the niche. An ornamental twisted band forms a curve within the inner wall of this niche and continues to run along the south wall of the church. The inclusion of this motif indicates that from the beginning the decoration of the water basin was a coherent part of the overall design of the church. Similarly, the iconographic motif of a cross is used for the decoration of the back wall of the water basins in the eleventh-century churches of Ihlara (Yılanlı and Direkli Kilise) and the tenth-century Kubelli Kilise I (lower church) in Soğanlı (ill. 46).[96] Judging by the surviving examples, it seems that the image of the cross was linked to the purpose of the water basin. In this connection we have to consider the painted decorations on the walls above the niche-type or freestanding water basins. These decorative programs further illustrate the symbolic connection between the water basin and the cross. Among the surviving decoration are the images of Constantine and Helena with the cross, the Crucifixion, narrative scenes from the life of John the Baptist (including the Baptism of Christ), and finally, scenes that employ a water motif, such as the Miracle at Cana and Christ before Pilate.

Various iconographic themes were often used to convey multiple layers of meaning for the same subject. Therefore a single iconographic theme, or a narrative cycle including several themes, can be related to the same subject in order to express the power of holy water and the place where it is actually located in the churches. Several churches seem to demonstrate a reciprocal relationship between the subject of the frescoes on the church wall and the water basin.

In the eleventh-century Yılanlı Kilise in the Ihlara valley, the water basin is located in the south wall of the south arm of this church, and it is decorated with an image of the cross (ill. 46).[97] The painted program on this wall above the water basin focuses on the theme of the cross and the holy water. The scenes are depicted in two registers. The first register, directly above the water basin shows the scene of the Koimesis; in the second register are two large figures of Constantine and Helena de-

[95] Restle, *Wall Painting*, II, ill. 128.

[96] For the illustration of the water basin in Yılanlı, see note 97 below. The decoration of the water basins in Direkli Kilise and Kubelli Kilise I has not been published.

[97] Restle, *Wall Painting*, III, pl. LXVII, ill. 498; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 307-313, with bibliography.

picted frontally holding a bejeweled cross. The images of Constantine and Helena immediately attract attention due to their symmetrical placement on the south wall. Moreover, the cross they are holding is placed on the same vertical line as the figure of the cross within the water niche. This compositional layout of the images of Constantine and Helena and the cross seems important in the context of the image of the cross represented in the water basin. The image of Constantine and Helena is connected with the discovery of the True Cross by Helena and with the Baptism of Constantine, as well as the vision of the cross discussed by Cyril of Jerusalem.[98] The representation of the cross in the niche and the related scenes just mentioned are further linked to the rite of the benediction of the water on the feast of the Epiphany (January 6).[99] According to the Constantinopolitan rite, on the night of the feast after vespers, the clergy, followed by the faithful, walked in a solemn procession to the *phiale* where the benediction of the water was performed. After the lessons, psalmody and prayers, the priest dipped a cross into the water three times. This ceremony itself symbolically recalls the Baptism of Christ, also evoking the descent of the Holy Spirit over the Jordan. After the ceremony, the priest blessed the clergy and faithful with holy water. Water from the fountain or *phiale* was poured into vessels and the faithful carried them home where the water would be kept for the whole year. This holy water was also used during the year in church ceremonies, particularly for the Eucharistic mixing of wine with the water according to the Orthodox rite. It was only after its benediction that the water received its miraculous powers and could be used in the liturgical rites of the church. Moreover, upon entering the church the faithful would wash their faces and eyes with the holy water. In this way the holy water would enlighten the hearts of the faithful with the Holy Spirit. From observation of this ceremony, it becomes apparent that the signing of the water with a cross has particular significance. This liturgical symbolism, familiar to all Orthodox Christians, helps explain the visual combination of crosses, Constantine and Helena, the Baptism of Christ, and the Crucifixion over or near water basins.

One of the earliest examples where a symbolic connection is made between the basin-niche and a scene of Baptism is Chapel 3 in Güzelöz

[98] N. Teteriatnikov, "The True Cross Flanked by Constantine and Helena. A Study in the Light of the Post-iconoclastic Re-evaluation of the Cross," *Deltion* (1995) 169-188.

[99] Goar, 441, 453, 464; Mateos, *Typikon*, I, 185, 186.

(Mavrucan).[100] A relatively large water basin in the Mavrucan Chapel is built within the western part of the north wall. It is placed within a niche, and covered with white plaster contemporaneous with the murals. This indicates that the water basin was constructed before the church was painted. Just above the water basin there is a female figure which belongs to the scene of the Flight into Egypt on the western wall. Next to the niche is the Baptism of Christ, a scene that occupies the entire barrel vault.[101] The juxtaposition of the Baptism scene with a water basin is found in other churches as well. A somewhat more complex program is found above the semi-circular niche-basin in the early tenth-century Chapel 9 in Göreme (ill. 47).[102] Significantly, two major scenes were chosen to decorate the south wall: the Baptism and the Crucifixion. Although the Baptism is located on the western part of the south wall, the Crucifixion is arranged just above the water basin in such a way that the composition is symmetrically lined up with the image of a cross within the niche itself.

Representations of the cross, the Crucifixion, and Christ's Baptism, referring to the miraculous power of the holy water and the invocation of the Holy Spirit, simultaneously symbolize the death and resurrection of Christ. These subjects convey a message about the liturgical function of the water basins and their role in the daily rites of the church.

The early tenth-century Old Tokalı Kilise manifests an even more explicit fresco program above the water basin on the south wall. Though the fresco cycle includes a Baptism scene, its explicit association with the function of the water basin has been overlooked by art historians. In this church, the water basin is located in the southeast corner (ill. 42).[103] The narrative cycle of the life of Christ and John the Baptist is represented in three registers on the south wall and the connecting barrel vault.[104] The cycle begins from the upper register as follows:

First register: Annunciation, Visitation, Proof of the Virgin, Journey to Bethlehem, Nativity.

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[100] Thierry, "Art byzantin," figs. 6, 12; In addition, its fresco style is similar to that in the ceiling and cupola of the cruciform Chapel 1 in Balkan Deresi, which suggests an early origin for these murals. Thierry attributes Chapel 1 to a pre-Iconoclast period: see Thierry, "Peintures paléochrétiennes," 53-59.

[101] Thierry, "Art byzantin," figs. 6, 12.

[102] Restle, *Wall Painting*, II, pl. XII (DX) and ills. 127, 128.

[103] Restle, *Wall Painting*, II, pl. X and ill. 61.

[104] Ibid., pl. X.

Second register: Pursuit of Elizabeth, Calling of John, Preaching of John, Christ and John, Baptism, Marriage in Cana.

Third register: Entry into Jerusalem, Last Supper, Washing of the Feet, Betrayal of Judas, Christ before Pilate.

Moreover, among the three registers, the second one, which is located in the upper part of the south wall, is dedicated to the narrative story of John the Baptist, including the Baptism of Christ. To my knowledge, this cycle of the Baptist is one of the largest in Cappadocian frescoes. Its introduction into a general Christological cycle seems to emphasize the Baptism of Christ and the significance of John the Baptist. During the benediction of the water, John the Baptist and the miracles of Christ were particularly commemorated.[105] In the Old Tokalı five scenes from the life of the Baptist are associated with the water basin in the southeast corner. Moreover, the first and third registers also include important scenes which show the miraculous power of water: the Proof of the Virgin (first), and the Marriage at Cana (the last scene on the second register after the Baptism of Christ). These scenes were probably intended to reinforce the fact that after his baptism, Christ performed the miracle of changing water into wine. Moreover, the third register includes the Washing of the Feet and Christ before Pilate. Both scenes illustrate the importance of purification by water. The last of the whole decorative program on the south wall is Christ before Pilate. This scene is the same as that represented above the water basin. The connection between the pictorial program of the south wall of the Old Tokalı with the location of the water basin below might seem tentative if it were the only example; however, there is another church with a similar program.

In the early tenth-century St. Theodore near Ürgüp there is a water basin located within the extension of the south wall.[106] Here again we encounter a cycle from the life of John the Baptist in close proximity to the water basin. The scenes, however, are not displayed on the south wall as in the Old Tokalı. Instead, they are arranged directly over the water basin on a flat ceiling.[107] The decorative cycle is shorter than in the Tokalı church and includes only the Pursuit of Elizabeth, the Preaching of John, and the Baptism. On the south wall next to the basin, miracles of

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[105] Goar, 450.

[106] Restle, *Wall Painting*, III, pl. XXXVI and ill. 374. Restle dates this church to the tenth century; cf. Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 219-222, with bibliography.

[107] Restle, *Wall Painting*, III, pl. XXXVI and ill. 374.

Christ are represented in two registers.[108] In the upper level there are the scenes of Healing a Man Possessed with Devils, the Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes, and Healing the Man with the Withered Hand. The lower register has the Woman of Samaria and the Transfiguration. The representations of healing scenes were usually interpreted in the sermons of the church fathers as references to the acquired habit of sin that induces sicknesses of the soul and leaves it open to the attack of the eight passions.[109] The prescribed remedy was cleansing of one's sins, confession, mourning, and weeping. Painted scenes of Christ's healing and miracles above the water basin were reminders to the faithful about the power of the holy water which helps in cleansing one's soul.

In addition, the story of Christ before Pilate was also used to illustrate the message of water. It is depicted above the water basin at the western end of the north wall of Kokar Kilise in Ihlara (ill. 45).[110] At first sight the scene of Christ before Pilate seems to be unusual in its relation to the water basin. But close examination of the iconography and its context shows that this scene indeed includes an aspect of the use of water. This scene is a part of the cycle from the Life of Christ. Here, however, the scene has been moved out of order and is located above a semi-circular niche housing the water basin. At the center is the enthroned Pilate and a standing Christ; between the two figures are traces of a vessel for the water. Behind Pilate to the south are depicted standing figures of elders and soldiers. First of all, the presence of a vessel in the scene of Christ before Pilate signifies an important moment. According to the biblical story, after Pilate made his decision to crucify Christ, he washed his hands with water to show his innocence (Matthew 27:24). In this connection the water as a symbol of purity played an important role. Although this fresco program illustrates only a single scene above the basin, it occupies a central position on the western wall and immediately focuses our attention on the function of the holy water.

Although the selection of scenes in the churches discussed above varied, their context no doubt referred to the rite of benediction of the water basin in the church. In turn, the presence of the water basin permits us

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[108] Ibid.

[109] This teaching goes back to Evagrius Ponticus A. and C. Guillaumont ed. *Praktikos: Évagre le Pontique, Traité Pratique ou le Moine* (SC 17, Paris 1971) 15-33, 536, 537; R. E. Sinkewicz, ed. *Theoleptus of Philadelpheia: The Monastic Discourses* (Toronto 1992) 53-54.

[110] For illustration, Restle, *Wall Painting*, III, plan, LII, and ills. 474, 482.

to interpret the arrangement of the painting program. Most of the water basins were carved into the walls, but no doubt there were cases where the water basins were made of stone, or metal, which have since disappeared. A similar situation probably obtained in Byzantine churches as well. Most of the built churches had portable furniture, while water basins in Byzantine churches vanished together with other elements of the church furnishing.

Among the surviving furnishings of Coptic churches in Egypt, the Epiphany tank sunk into the floor is found in a number of churches in Egypt. Examples are churches in Wadi Natrun: the church of Abu Iskhirun at Abu Makar and the church of St. Makarius.[111] Walters noted that with the exception of the Suriani examples all of them are shallow basins normally made of marble.[112] He suggested that their function was connected with the sanctification of water during the feast of the Epiphany.

Some churches in Syria preserve several examples of water basins in the church walls. These examples are very much like the Cappadocian water basins carved within a niche. The difference in the Syrian models is that the piscina itself is carved within a semicircular stone which protrudes from the wall. The size of the piscina is very small, similar to the Cappdocian style. One Syrian basin is found in the fifth-century church at Umm idj-Djimal.[113] Here it is located in a similar semicircular stone. Another water basin is in the church of St. George dated to about the same period.[114] This water basin is made in the shape of a small vase, hollowed inside for the reception of water, and attached to the wall. Butler pointed out that this sort of water basin is found particularly in the south of Syria and is of a very early date. These small water basins made within the church walls are comparable to the Cappadocian niche-type basins discussed above. Several niche water basins are recorded in Early and Middle Byzantine churches in Armenia, for instance the basilica of Achtaran, the church at Garni, St. Sergius in Tekor, and the church at Perthav.[115]

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[111] Walters, *Archaeology*, 56. For the use of the water basins in Coptic churches, see Badawy, "Coptic Water-Jug Stand," 56-61.

[112] Walters, *Archaeology*, 56.

[113] Butler, *Syria*, 181 and fig. 155.

[114] Burler, *Syria*, 93 and fig. 74.

[115] Thierry, "Monastères arméniens," 220 and note 103; pl. XIX, fig. 31 and pl. XVII, fig. 30 (c).

With regard to Greek churches, Millet noted that the water basins for the feast of the Epiphany were commonly found in the western part of the church.[116] They can also be near the south door of the church. This observation seems to be confirmed by some of the surviving examples in Greece as, for instance, the marble basin in the western part of the central nave in the church of Katapoliani on the island of Paros.[117] Moreover, in the eleventh-century rock-cut chapel of St. Saba in Trebizond in Asia Minor, there is a rock-cut basin cut into the southern corner of the church.[118] Here the images of Constantine and Helena are painted above the basin. The pictorial juxtaposition of the imperial couple displaying the cross with the water basin is somewhat similar to the above-discussed case of Yılanlı Kilise in the Ihlara valley in Cappadocia.[119]

These surviving Byzantine examples of the Epiphany tank indicate that the Cappadocian ones are of the same nature. Since they were cut within the rock, these water basins have survived better. At the same time, their presence clarifies the location of the holy water basin in Byzantine churches as well as the significance of the painted decoration that illustrated the miraculous power of the holy water for the faithful.

3. Seating Places

Stone rock-cut seating was furnished in almost every church interior. Scholars have noticed the presence of benches in some Cappadocian churches, but their origin, development and practical use have never been investigated. We do not know whether the custom of seating in the naves was a Cappadocian phenomenon or whether Cappadocian churches represent evidence for general Byzantine tradition. While provision of seats for the clergy in the sanctuary is a commonly known fact, we still need to learn about the arrangement and use of seating in the nave of the church. In investigating this we have to examine the rock-cut seating in Cappadocian churches, and their various types and arrangements which have survived from Early to Middle Byzantine times. A comparison of Cappadocian data with the scattered remains of Byzantine churches in Greece and the Christian East can clarify the furnishings in the Byzantine churches and the Cappadocian tradition in particular.

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[116] Millet, "Phiale," 105-141, esp. 108.

[117] Jewell, Hasluck, *The Church of Our Lady*, pl. 1 (see note 74 above).

[118] Restle, *Wall Painting*, III, pl. LXIX.

[119] See note 97, above.

The related literary sources and the structure of the daily liturgical services also help to interpret the rank of the people appointed to sit, and when people were allowed to sit in the church nave.

There are two types of seats found in Cappadocian churches: (1) benches and (2) individual seats. Both types were integrated into the design of the individual church. Seats were usually constructed along the north, south, and western walls, and in front of the bema. Such an arrangement of seats left the center of the nave free for the performance of the liturgy and allowed easy access to single or multiple sanctuaries at the eastern end.

Benches

Rock-cut benches appear as the earliest and most widely used seating in churches, owing to their simplicity of design and use. A block-like bench was easy to cut out of the wall and suited any church plan, whether a simple single-nave church, a basilica, or any other church type. The benches are rather modest in their physical appearance, and very narrow as a modern worshiper would understand comfort. Their size ranges from 35 to 40 cm. in width and 50-60 cm. in height. The walls behind the benches were often used for painted decoration so that the decorative program of the entire wall could be observed without interruption. These utilitarian reasons made this type of church furniture suitable for the rock-cut churches of this area. Moreover, the lack of wood in this region might also make rock-cut furniture more logical for these churches.

In observing the interior of the early group of churches dating to the pre-Iconoclast period, it becomes apparent that benches were already an integral part of the church furniture of the period. The late fifth- or early sixth-century basilica of St. John in Çavuşın is one of the earliest examples showing evidence of benches.[120] The central nave of this basilica is wider than the side naves and is separated on the sides by a high podium with a colonnade on top (ill. 48). In this way the side aisles were not accessible but only visible through the colonnade. Benches were then constructed on the north and south side of the nave as an extension of the podium. In addition, they were cut out of the western wall on both sides of the entrance. Thus the central nave of the Çavuşın basilica was

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[120] For the dating, bibliography, and illustration of this church, see chapter 1, note 49, above.

surrounded by benches on three sides (north, south, and west). The north aisle is accessible to the public from the doorway leading to the porch, yet has no connection with the central nave. Originally there were benches which surrounded the long nave on the south, north and western walls. Those on the south were designed as a part of the podium in the same manner as the central nave. Those near the north and west walls were simply cut out of the wall but are heavily damaged now. The south nave of this basilica has neither benches nor a sanctuary; therefore it is difficult to know its original function. Whatever it was, it is significant that two aisles, the central and the north, are independent liturgical compartments with independent sets of benches. The existence of these separate sets of seats indicates that they were necessary for church services in each of these naves. The liturgical planning of this basilica is unique.

In a majority of churches with a basilica plan, benches are arranged around the walls. An example is in another basilica of the early seventh century, Durmuş Kadir, where benches are located along the western and south walls (ill. 49).[121] The north wall of this basilica was destroyed some time ago and has been filled in with rubble in recent times. It is possible that benches were originally located near this north wall as well. This basilica has three independent sanctuaries corresponding to each nave. In this case benches placed near the side walls were used both for the side aisles as well as for the central nave. Thus three naves were accessible through large archways. In a similar fashion one finds an arrangement of benches in various church plans from the Early and Middle Byzantine churches in this area.

In the double- or triple-nave churches, benches were arranged in a similar way as in the basilicas. Thus naves are usually divided by pillars and arches, and there is often no space to place benches between the naves. In this situation benches can be found only on the south, north and western walls of the church.

In one of the early double-nave churches in Güzelöz (Mavrucan), benches are found only near the north and western walls of the north nave.[122] The second nave, however, has no benches. In the double-nave

[121] Thierry, "Quelques monuments," 7-17, fig. 5.

[122] This double-nave chapel is located 50 m. from Chapel 3 in Güzelöz (Mavrucan). It has never been published. It is difficult to be precise in the dating of this chapel. It seems to belong to the group of churches dated to the end of the sixth or early seventh centuries. The facade of this chapel has a protrusion on the wall very

ninth-century Joachim and Anna church in Kızıl Çukur, the benches are in the northern and western walls of the north nave, and a smaller bench is placed within a semi-circular lunette located in the southern wall of the south nave.[123] In the triple-nave tenth-century church Kubelli Kilise I (lower church) in Soğanlı, the benches are found near the north and western wall in the north nave; in the south nave they are constructed near the south and western walls.[124] In addition, benches were also constructed alongside the three bemas in the three naves. Because of the arches between the three naves, there is no place to fit benches on the side of the central nave. For the same reason the north and south aisles have no benches on the side facing the central nave. The basic pattern of the benches is an arrangement along the walls. However, there are cases where the naves are separated by walls. For example, in the early tenth-century Karabaş Kilise, there are four independent naves separated from each other by a wall.[125] Thus, each nave is provided with its own set of benches. Another example is the sixth- or early seventh-century double-nave Chapel 4 (Üzümlü Kilise) in Zelve.[126] There the two naves were originally separated by a wall which is at present partially damaged. Access between the two rooms was provided through a doorway. Each nave was furnished with benches along the north, south and west walls. Benches are largely demolished in the south nave but are still standing in the north nave. A similar plan for seating is found in Middle Byzantine churches.

Cappadocian cross-in-square churches appear only in the Middle Byzantine period. Nevertheless, benches within this architectural type follow a similar arrangement to those in basilicas or double- and triple-nave churches. Thus, in the earliest cross-in-square church, Kılıçlar Kilise (ca. 900), benches are cut along the walls including the area in front of the three sanctuaries at the eastern end.[127] A similar bench ar-

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similar to the treatment of the walls in the naves of the Domed Hall in Balkan Dere, St. John in Çavuşin and Chapel 3 in Güllü Dere.

[123] Restle, *Wall Painting*, III, pl. XXXIII. Benches are not included in the published plan of this church.

[124] Restle, *Wall Painting*, III, pl. XLVII.

[125] Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler*, ill. 41; Rodley, *Caves*, fig. 36. Benches are not included in the published plan of this church. They are, however, to be seen in the north and adjacent nave which has been published by Restle, *Wall Painting*, III, pl. XLVIII.

[126] *Arts of Cappadocia*, 88, and ph. 37.

[127] Restle, *Wall Painting*, II, pl. XXIV.

rangement is found in the eleventh-century cross-in-square church of St. Barbara in Göreme, Chapel 17, Elmalı Kilise, Karanlık Kilise, and Çarıklı Kilise, the eleventh-century Tokalı Kilise in Soğanli, and the eleventh-century church in Kızıl Çukur, and others.[128]

In a similar fashion benches were used in a single-nave church plan. The earliest single-nave churches, Chapel 3 in Güzelöz (Mavrucan) and Chapel 6 in Zelve, already demonstrate the pattern of benches along the wall (pl. 2, ill. 33).[129] They are, however, found lining only one wall as in the case of the ninth-century Açikel Ağa Kilise in Belisirama.[130] The church is very small, and the rather short bench is found only on the north wall. With some variations, benches can be found in a great number of single-nave churches such as St. Simeon in Zelve, the tenth-century Pigeon House in Çavuşın, and St. Barbara (ca. 1006) in Soğanlı, and many others.[131]

Since early times, benches were also utilized in the churches of the transverse-nave plan. The earliest example is the sixth-century Chapel 3 in Güllü Dere.[132] Here again benches were originally constructed along the walls including the bema. Now they are considerably demolished near the eastern and southern walls. In a similar fashion, benches were utilized in the transverse-nave churches of the Middle Byzantine period. Examples are the tenth-century Chapel 3, Chapel 6, and the eleventh-century Chapels 18 and 2a (Saklı Kilise) in Göreme (ill. 50).[133]

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[128] On illustrations of benches in Elmalı Kilise, Karanlık and Çarıklı, see Restle, *Wall Painting*, II, pls. XVIII, XXI, and XXII. In the published plans of St. Barbara and Chapel 17 in Göreme as well as Tokalı in Soğanlı, benches are not included in the published plans. For Chapel 17, see *Arts of Cappadocia*, 120 and ph. 61. The eleventh-century church in Kızıl Çukur has not been published.

[129] Thierry, "Art byzantin," 236 and fig. 3.

[130] Thierry attributes this church to a pre-Iconoclast period ("Un décor pré-iconoclaste," 33-69, fig. 1). Other scholars date it to the ninth and early tenth century: see Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 327-329, with bibliography and discussion of dating.

[131] On illustration of benches in St. Simeon in Zelve, see *Arts of Cappadocia*, 78 and fig. 27; Rodley, *Caves*, 190, fig. 35; for the Pigeon Hause in Çavuşın, see Restle, *Wall Painting*, III, pl. XXVI; for St. Barbara, see ibid., pl. XLVI.

[132] For the sixth-century dating of the architecture of this church, see Thierry, *Haut Moyen-Âge*, 117-133; Teteriatnikov, "Domed Hall," 36-37; Lafontaine-Dosogne attributed the church and monastic complex to the iconoclast period: Lafontaine-Dosogne, "L'église aux trois croix," 175-207. Cf. Restle, *Wall Painting*, I, 69, 139-140, III, pl. XXVIII; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises* 31-36, with further bibliography.

[133] Restle, *Wall Painting*, II, pls. II, III, VIII, and XXV. For the Chapel 18, see *Arts of Cappadocia*, ph. 42.

Flexibility in arrangement allows for the benches to fit into the cruciform plan as well. In the case of the cruciform plan, benches are cut out of the walls of the cruciform naos. While the earliest cruciform church in this area does not have benches, they do appear in a number of cruciform churches of the Middle Byzantine period. Examples are found in the eleventh-century Ağaç Alti Kilisesi in Ihlara as well as others.[134]

Observation of benches in the rock-cut churches of this area allows us to draw several conclusions. First of all, with the exception of the cross-in-square plan, benches were used in churches of various plans in the early period of Cappadocian church architecture. They were also used continuously throughout Middle Byzantine times. Their arrangement was simple and depended predominantly on the church plan and, in particular, the length of the wall. Yet, besides this simple furniture type, there were other, more individual seating arrangements.

Individual Seats

Although the size of benches allows us to estimate an approximate number of parishioners that could occupy the church, there are a great number of churches in this area that were furnished with individual rock-cut seats. Significantly, the presence of these individual seats suggests that they were reserved for a certain number of parishioners who participated in the service of each church. Unlike benches, this type of seating is found in churches dating from the ninth to the thirteenth century. Like benches, their arrangement was also dependent on the existence of an unbroken length of the church walls, for they were not free-standing but constructed along the wall in a continuous fashion. There were several variations in the placement of this type of seating.

One type of individual seating depended on the wall articulation. In this case, seats were constructed between the pilasters which divided the wall in a series of blind arcades.

The New Tokalı Kilise, dating from the middle of the tenth century, is an interesting combination of seating of blind arcades and little joint benches (ill. 51).[135] The use of reduced-size benches in the New Tokalı Kilise probably depended on their use in the Old Tokalı Kilise, the earli-

[134] On the plan of Chapel 27, see Kostof, *Caves*, 108 and fig. 15; *Arts of Cappadocia* fig. 28; for Chapel 21b, see *Arts of Cappadocia*, 79 and fig. 28; for Ağaç Alti, Restle, *Wall Painting*, III, pl. LV.

[135] See Chapter 1, note 74; for illustration, see Restle, *Wall Painting*, II, pl. X, figs. 98 and 99; Epstein, *Tokalı*, 1, 24, ills. 6, 8, 12, 13, 48-50, 57.

est church in the Tokalı complex. The benches in the Old Tokalı were cut off when its floor was leveled. Therefore, in order to make a coherent design, the architects used a reduced-size bench joined to the walls of the interior. These benches are 25 cm. in depth and are not comfortable to sit on. At the same time, a blind arcade divides the southern and western walls of the transverse nave into a series of arches in such a way that the bottom of each unit is between the pilasters which, together with the benches, form a comfortable individual seat. The size of each seat is about 60 cm. in length and about 45 cm. in depth. Thus, each unit provides comfortable space for sitting. The arrangement of seats near the north wall is even more complex. The south wall has an open arcade which divides the nave from the parekklesion. But the protruding pillars still divide the benches on the individual seats. The example of the New Tokalı is highly individual; a majority of the benches simply use the bottom of the blind arcade between the pilasters to form a seat. The same sitting arrangement provided within the blind arcade can be seen in the parekklesion.[136]

In the eleventh-century Chapel 33 (Meryemana) in Göreme, the ample pilasters of the blind arcade divide the northern, southern, and western walls of the transverse nave into a series of niches.[137] Their average size is 45 cm. by 60 cm. This suggests that they were used as individual seats. All niches are similar in depth but vary slightly in width. Similar arrangements of seating can be seen in a number of churches in this area, for instance the ninth-century Chapel of Joachim and Anna in Kızıl Çukur, and the tenth-century churches of St. Eustathius in Göreme, Karabaş Kilise in Soğanlı, the Church of the Holy Apostles in Mustafapaşa, the Chapel in Güllü Dere, and Karşi Kilise (ca. 1212) in Gülşehir.[138]

Another type of private seat appears as elongated semicircular or rectangular niches arranged continuously. One of the earliest examples of this kind is represented by the Chapel 4 (Ayvalı Kilise) in Güllü Dere which dates to the end of the ninth century (ill. 52).[139] Each nave of this double-nave church is furnished with individual sets of semicircular

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[136] Epstein, *Tokalı*, ill. 57.

[137] Restle, *Wall Painting*, II, pl. XXV and ill. 280.

[138] For illustration, see Restle, *Wall Painting*, II, pl. XIII; III, pls. XXXIII, XLVIII, XL.

[139] Thierry, "Ayvalı Kilise," 98 and fig. 1; eadem, *Haut Moyen-Âge*, 135-181, figs. 49, 54.

niche-seats (45 cm. x 60 cm.). All niches are of the same size, uniform throughout the church. These niche-seats are displayed in both naves according to the plan of both naves wherever the space was available. For example, in the north nave there is a large arcosolium at the center of the north wall. Thus two niche-seats are fitted between the arcosolium and the western wall. In the opposite wall three seats occupy a place between the western wall and the passageway into the south nave. A similar arrangement is found in the south nave where seven seats are constructed along the south and north walls. A number of churches in this area display a similar design in their seating arrangements. Examples are the ninth-century Karabaş Kilise in Soğanlı, tenth-century chapels in Göreme such as El Nazar, Chapels 4a and 6, the tenth-century Tavşanlı Kilise near Ortahisar, the eleventh-century churches of Ihlara such as Pürenli and Sümbülü, and others (ill. 53).[140]

Rock-cut chairs represent a third type of private seat. They are relatively rare and found only in a small group of churches dating probably from the Iconoclast period onward. This sort of furniture, distinguished by high quality workmanship and design, probably imitated marble or wooden chairs, and were usually the same size as a normal chair with a curved back. The earliest and most sophisticated example of this kind of seating is in Chapel 5 in the Güllü Dere valley.[141] This chapel is very small (its nave is 2.30 m. in length). There are three chairs cut into the south wall, and two in the north wall between the western wall and the entrance to the private chapel (ill. 54). The latter are considerably damaged. All seats, however, are cut in a continuous fashion, but shaped as individual chairs with curved backs, divided from each other by the lower arms. The large extended cornice forms a curved arch above each chair, articulating the divisions between the seats and giving them a striking appearance. Moreover, portions of the plaster and painted decoration that survives on the back of these chairs suggest that they were included within the general decorative program of this chapel. They were ornamented with an alternating pattern of squares and floral designs.

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[140] Restle, *Wall Painting*, II, pls. I, IV and VIII; III, pls. XXXIX, LIV, LVI.

[141] The date of this chapel is problematical. The color palette of its murals is different from that in churches dated to the second part of the ninth century. On stylistic grounds, it seems to pre-date the early ninth century. The style of its carved chairs is also not found in ninth-century churches. This church has been dated to the fifth and sixth centuries by Thierry (*Haut Moyen-Âge*, I, 182-189) and to the ninth and tenth by Restle (*Wall Painting*, I, 142, III, pl. XXX); *Arts of Cappadocia*, 201, Plan 3; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 44-46 with further bibliography.

The surviving fresco decoration of this chapel consists of crosses, floral and geometric motifs. Therefore these chairs were decorated in keeping with the abstract decorative style of this chapel.

Similar chairs and arrangement can also be found in another unpublished chapel located near Chapel 1 in the same valley.[142] Although rare, this type of chair appears again in the eleventh-century triconch at Tağar.[143] In this church, eight semicircular chairs are cut into the wall of the south arm of the triconch in a continuous fashion so that the semicircular arm of the church is surrounded by chairs (ill. 55). Significantly, this arm of the triconch has a doorway in the eastern part which opens to the passageway leading to the upper-level monastic dwellings. Thus this arrangement of seats probably depended on the location of the passageway. In addition, two similar chairs are found on both sides of the central apse (ill. 56). These were obviously reserved for the higher rank of the clergy, while those in the south arm were probably reserved for the monastic community.

Finally, there is another variation of the individual chair near the sanctuary. As in Tağar these chairs were reserved for the clergy. These individual rock-cut chairs are usually found on both sides of the apse. Four rectangular chairs are displayed near the three bemas in the Tokalı Kilise in such a way that chairs flanked the entranceway to each independent sanctuary (ill. 18).[144] Similarly, rectangular chairs are carved in front of the sanctuary screen in the eleventh-century Chapel 23 (Karanlık Kilise).[145] In the latter church two more chairs were added near the western wall on both sides of the entrance. In addition, two semicircular chairs flanking the entrance to the apse are found in the small, probably ninth-century, Chapel b in Göreme.[146] This church shows an earlier tradition of the clerical seats in the nave and near the sanctuary. Their presence in the tenth-century Tokalı and the eleventh-century Tağar triconch shows a continuous practice of seating near the sanctuary. Considering

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[142] This chapel has not been published. Its type and very small size are very much like Chapel 5 in the same valley.

[143] On the eleventh-century dating: Jerphanion, II, 187-205; Lafontaine, "Nouvelles notes," 132, 133; Restle, *Wall Painting*, I, 53-56, 146, 147; III, pl. XXXV, ill. 355; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 211-215, with further bibliography.

[144] Restle, *Wall Painting*, II, pl. X and ills. 61, 98 and 109; *Arts of Cappadocia*, 95, fig. 50; Epstein, *Tokalı*, figs. 6, 7, 12.

[145] Restle, *Wall Painting*, II, pl. XXII.

[146] Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 90, 91, pl. 62.

their location, all these seats in front of the sanctuary were designated for the high-ranking members of the clergy.

There is one chair which appears to be unique among the Cappadocian churches. It is found in the tenth- or eleventh-century basilica in Selime (ill. 57).[147] A semicircular chair similar in size to those in Tağar is cut into the central pillar of the north arcade facing the central apse. This chair is plastered and painted. Unfortunately the painting has turned almost black and it is difficult to see the decoration. But the size of this chair provides a comfortable place to sit. This chair seems to be special and therefore one assumes it was reserved for some of the highest-ranking clergy or lay donors.

The individual chairs appear richer than the continuous bench. Many of the individual seats and chairs were decorated and formed a part of the overall decorative program of the churches. Their decoration was primarily of two kinds. One is a simple ornamented pattern, an example of which appears on the chair in Chapel 5 in Güllü Dere as well as in the Tağar triconch. The backs of these seats between pilasters or in the niches were in some cases decorated with half- or standing figures of martyrs and saints. This can be seen in Chapel 4 (Ayvalı Kilise) in Güllü Dere, Kılıçlar Küzlük in Göreme, and Pürenli Kilise in Ihlara (ill. 58).[148]

Observation of these seating places shows that seats were consistently used in churches from Early to Middle Byzantine times. Of the types of seating used, benches were the earliest and most widespread. Various types of individual seats were found in the churches from about the ninth century and from that time were used side by side with benches. Their presence indicates that they were probably reserved for particular members of monastic dwellings. Decorative images of saints and martyrs on the backs of many seats suggest that there was an association between the decoration and the person to whom the seat belonged. The presence of both types of seating in the churches of this area seems to reflect the need of seats for congregation and for special individuals.

Prior to interpreting the purpose of seating in the churches, we need to compare Cappadocian data with the furnishings found in the naves of Byzantine churches elsewhere. Because no study has been undertaken in

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[147] Lafontaine, "La Kale Kilisesi," 741-753 and plan on p. 743; Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, 63-85, fig. 13; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 331-332, with further bibliography.

[148] For Chapel 4 (Ayvalı Kilise), see Thierry, "Ayvalı Kilise," 103. For Chapel 33 (Meryemana), see Restle, *Wall Painting*, II, pl. XXV, ills. 280; for Pürenli Kilise, see ibid, III, LIV, ill. 484.

this regard, we have had to examine whether the provision of seats was a common Byzantine custom. Unfortunately, a majority of published church plans do not always indicate benches or other seating arrangements. Nevertheless, having found seats in some of the Middle Byzantine churches in Byzantium and the Christian East, we will here present evidence that it was a common Byzantine custom.

Seats in Byzantine churches were largely made of stone or brick or else rock-cut. Through the years these stone seats have gradually disappeared together with other church furniture. In many cases wooden seats were substituted, but no wooden Byzantine church seats have survived. Therefore, an observation of the published stone seating is not a complete reconstruction, but only suggests an idea of how the seating might have been arranged in these churches.

The Christian house at Dura Europos, securely dated to the third century, is the earliest Christian building furnished with benches.[149] Here benches are used in the assembly hall, courtyard and baptistery.[150] Their presence in the assembly hall is of particular significance because it was a room where Christians gathered for the liturgy and everyday church services. Archaeologists reported that when this room was reconstructed to be used as a Christian church, the benches were replastered. This archaeological evidence suggests that they were intended for use during the church services. The arrangement of the benches is simple. They were displayed along the northern, southern and western walls of the assembly hall. The eastern wall was reserved for the bishop's chair and an altar, according to the excavators. This sort of bench arrangement can be found in early churches in different parts of the Byzantine Empire, such as Thrace, Asia Minor, Greece and Palestine.

The sixth-century basilica of the rock-cut monastery in Mydie, Thrace, demonstrates rock-cut benches similar to those observed in Cappadocia.[151] They are found here only along the western wall of the central nave. A group of early Christian rock-cut churches in Phrygia and Asia Minor, including those at Berber Inli and a single-nave church at Delik Taş, displays benches along the side walls of the nave.[152] A baptistery church of the fifth-and sixth century Alahan complex in Cilicia has simi-

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[149] C. H. Kraeling, C. B. Welles, *The Christian Building: The Excavations at Dura Europos* (New Haven, New York 1967) II, 34 ff.

[150] Kraeling, Welles, *The Christian Building*, ibid., 150, 153-155, plan V.

[151] Evice and Thierry, "Le monastère," 48, fig. 1.

[152] Haspels, *Phrygia*, II, ills. 591, 594.

lar brick benches.[153] Brick benches are also found in the south church at Čaricin Grad in Macedonia, dated to the time of Justinian.[154] Stone benches are found in the fifth-century cathedral in Gerasa, Jordan, and in the south church at Shivta and the church in Avdat, both in Palestine.[155]

The sixth-century basilica of the St. Catherine monastery on Mount Sinai presents a more complex arrangement of seating. Brick benches have survived in the chapel of Sts. Cosmas and Damian, and remains are still *in situ* in the chapel of St. Simeon the Stylite.[156] The central nave, however, presents a somewhat different arrangement of seating places. Here, the marble platform (25 cm. in height and 1.3 cm wide) is raised on both sides of the colonnade in the central nave.[157] This platform is contemporary with the sixth-century marble floor of the basilica. At present, the row of wooden chairs for the monks and clergy is displayed in such a way that the central nave of the basilica is surrounded by chairs on both sides. The chairs in use at present were probably made in the nineteenth century, but it is quite possible that their arrangement on the platform is similar to that used in the time of Justinian. The continuous marble platform does not appear to be used for any other purpose. Surviving early Christian examples of seating places in churches point to the fact that churches in Macedonia, Asia Minor, Thrace and Sinai all shared general tradition, which continued in Byzantine churches throughout the Middle Byzantine period.

Middle Byzantine churches in all these areas were furnished with benches in a similar way. Rock-cut and brick benches have survived here and there in various parts of the church buildings of the Byzantine world. Almost all of the Middle Byzantine rock-cut churches in Phrygia published by Haspels present evidence of rock-cut benches, e.g. at

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[153] Gough, *Alahan*, 30-34, fig. 71, pl. 52.

[154] R.F. Hoddinott, *Early Byzantine Churches in Macedonia and Southern Serbia* (London 1963) 215, fig. 145.

[155] For the cathedral in Gerasa, see Crowfoot, *Early Churches* fig. 12. For illustration of benches in the South Church at Shivta, see Rosenthal-Heginbottom, *Kirchen*, figs. 30, pls. 33 (a,b) and 70 (b); for the sixth-century church at Khirbet el-Beiyudat in the lower Jordan, see H. Hizmi, "The Byzantine Church at Khirbet el-Beiyudat in the Lower Jordan Valley," in Y. Tsafrir, ed., *Ancient Churches Revealed* (Jerusalem 1993) 155-163 and fig. p. 157.

[156] Forsyth, Weitzmann, *Sinai*, 9, fig. B and Plates, pls. XLIII, XCII(b).

[157] Ibid., pl. XLIII.

Ayazin.[158] Several churches in Naxos in Greece, including the Panagia Protothrone at Chalki, Hagios Ioannis Theologos at Adisarou, Hagios Georgios Diasorotis, and the Panagia at Yallous display stone benches around the walls.[159] Brick benches are found in the tenth-century church of Hagios Stephanos in Kastoria,[160] and the church of Hagios Ioannis in Geraki.[161] They are preserved in small sections near the north and south walls of the north and south naves and near the pillars of the central nave. Brick benches also appear in the eighth-century church of the Archangels near Sige, in Asia Minor.[162] A number of rock-cut chapels in South Italy are furnished with benches around the nave.[163] The rarity of stone or brick seating in Byzantine churches is not surprising since many church buildings were devastated throughout history. Moreover, in a majority of the churches, particularly in the big cities, they were probably made of wood. Although they are rare, their presence in various areas of the Byzantine Empire of the Early to Middle Byzantine periods indicates that seating was customary in Byzantine churches.

Questions then arise concerning the use of these seating places, the times when people were permitted to sit in the churches, and the status of those allowed to sit there. To ascertain the function of seats in churches' naves we have to turn to the literary evidence and the timetable of daily church services.

Byzantine writers have left several accounts regarding the seating arrangements in church buildings. The fourth-century author Eusebius mentioned them in describing the Paulinus temple at Tyre:

> In any case when he had thus completed the temple he placed in the highest part of it seats to honor those who preside, and other seating below in an orderly and proper fashion throughout the building.[164]

This passage provides several important pieces of information. First of all, because the seats were placed in the temple after its completion,

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[158] On the date of this church, see Pallas, *Les monuments*, 214. The benches in this church have not been published.

[159] Chatzidakis, *Naxos*, 32 and figs. 1-3; 52 and fig. 1; 68 and fig. 2; 101 and fig. 2.

[160] Epstein, "Byzantine Churches," 190 ff. and fig. 2.

[161] N.K. Moutsopoulos, G. Demetrokalles, *Geraki* (Thessaloniki 1981) plan on p.5.

[162] Buchwald, *Church*, pl. VIII, fig. 34. cf. Ruggieri, *Architecture*, 214, 215.

[163] Rock-cut benches are found in a number of the eleventh-century churches in South Italy, such as St. Salvatore, St. Maria in Otranto, and St. Nikola in Mottola: see Cavallo et al., *I bizantini in Italia*, figs. 196, 198, pl. VIII (a-c). They also appear in the church of St. Stefano and Silvestro in Puglia: ibid., fig. 409.

[164] Wilkinson, "Paulinus Temple at Tyre," JÖB, 32/4 (1982) 556, note 44.

the seating was probably not made of brick, but rather of other materials such as wood or marble. Secondly, the author distinguishes seats in two parts of the building: in the "higher part," probably referring to the sanctuary, and in the rest of the building. It can thus be inferred that the nave was furnished. Finally, he mentioned that seats were arranged "in an orderly and proper fashion," which suggests that they were reserved for various ranks of people. The information given by Eusebius is fully confirmed by later sources.

Leo Allatios gives a very detailed description of the seats, their types and location, as well as the rank of clergy for whom the seats were reserved. We must, however, take into account that Allatios lived in the post-Byzantine period when many new customs no doubt were being woven into the fabric of early tradition. Yet if we compare his description with Cappadocian data, other Byzantine churches, and the Eusebius passage, we can see that his account is based on earlier tradition. He talks about several different types of seats:

> Some of the chairs or seats in the church are fixed and immobile, others mobile and portable. The portable seats are those not designated as fixed places for some personage but are brought out by seat attendants as the need arises. ... The fixed seats are attached to the wall and cannot ever be moved from this place. Outside of the bema they are hewn out of wood and fashioned with extraordinary skill....[165]

This passage informs us that there were portable and stationary seats. The immobile ones were attached to the wall of the church. This kind of arrangement of chairs and benches is comparable to Cappadocian and Early and Middle Byzantine churches. According to Allatios, these seats were made of wood, which is a reason why Byzantine church buildings have not been able to preserve their original furnishings.

The next issue which arises is the ranking of the people for whom the seats in the nave were reserved. From the passage of Eusebius we know that in the Paulinus temple the seats were arranged "in an orderly and proper fashion." This implies that the arrangement of seats was important. However, he does not specify by whom and at what time these seats were occupied. The later author Allatios again is very detailed regarding this matter. Significantly he distinguishes the seats placed in front of the bema: "Again I note from my unpublished euchologion that they are placed in front of the bema during the consecration of the bishop..."[166]

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[165] Allatios, 35.

[166] Ibid.

This passage is of particular significance. It sheds light on the purpose and function of the rock-cut chairs mentioned above in the Tokalı Kilise and Karanlık Kilise, as well as the single chair in front of the bema within the pillar in the basilica at Selime. All three of these churches are important monastic centers. The individual rock-cut chairs near the bema in each case obviously were not reserved for ordinary monks, but probably were used for the bishop's seat, and particularly during the ceremony for the consecration of bishops.

Allatios further describes how other seats in the church were occupied:

> The rest of the clergy sit on both sides of the church, some of them on lower benches. If there are many bishops present lower in authority and rank than the bishop of the church, the first bishop among them claims the seats to the right of the local bishop. The rest sit in front of the clergy on other seats. If bishops present rank above the local bishop, the latter yields the throne and the more eminent takes the higher place ... However, it is done otherwise in the church of Constantinople, although even there not without disturbances and quarreling ...[167]

It is notable in this text that the clergy were assigned to seats on both sides of the church. This is particularly demonstrated in the Cappadocian and other Byzantine churches where benches were placed along both sides and on the western wall. It seems likely that these seats were reserved for members of the clergy. As Allatios points out, seats in the churches of Constantinople were occupied in a strict hierarchical order. Similar situations probably existed in the churches of Cappadocia and elsewhere in Byzantium.

The final question to be raised here with respect to the seating is when the clergy and parishioners were permitted to take their seats. Allatios gives us some information:

> Sitting on one of these in the middle of the church, the high priest puts on the secret vestments before he performs the rite of the mass. Here he remains seated until the Isodus when he enters the bema. Again when the high priest advances someone to the holy order, chairs are placed beside the beautiful door, or before the altar when there is no hieron synthronon in the churches.[168]

Unfortunately, his description does not tell us anything about when the clergy and parishioners were permitted to sit during church services. However, by looking at the system of the daily church services we can distinguish the origin and development of this custom.

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[167] Ibid., 36.

[168] Allatios, 35.

Examining the rules governing Byzantine liturgical services we find few references to seating during services. Symeon of Thessalonike mentions seating during the festal homilies:

> Then when the discourses of the saints regarding the feast are read as common teaching, they sit down and sing sitting — on the one hand for a little bodily rest, on the other hand because we should praise God whether sitting or standing.[169]

But it is only during night prayer services that certain liturgical passages occur during which parishioners and monks were appointed seats. After examining various liturgical traditions of Byzantine daily vespers, Taft worked out a detailed analysis of how evening prayers were performed according to the Pachomian rule in fourth-century Egypt. It goes as follows:

Seated:
- scriptural passage recited by a monk standing at the ambo.

Standing:
- *signal*, sign of the cross on the forehead
- Our Father (arms extended)
- *signal*, sign of the cross on the forehead

Prostrated:
- penitential prayer in silence

Standing:
- sign of the cross on the forehead
- prayer in silence
- signal to be seated [170]

So, according to Pachomian tradition, sitting was permitted at the beginning and end of the liturgical hour.

The monastic tradition of night vigil prayers became widespread all over the countries of the Christian East. By the fourth century it was a part of the cathedral services of urban centers as well. According to Mateos, this tradition was developed quite early in Cappadocia.[171] In fact, St. Basil in his letters described this custom of monastic gathering for the night vigils and psalmody in Cappadocian churches.[172]

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[169] See Simeon of Thessalonike: H.L. Simmons, tr., *Treatise on Prayer* (Brookline, Mass. 1984) 32.

[170] Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours*, 78; idem., *The Liturgy* 58, 59.

[171] Mateos, "La Synaxe monastique," 248-272.

[172] See Saint Basil: A. C. Way, tr., *Letters* (Washington 1969, second ed.) II, 83, 84.

It is important that night vigil services were customary in Cappadocia. Analyzing the vigil services, Mateos distinguishes certain parts of the vespers including the culminating point known as the *kathisma*.[173] This *kathisma* included the reading of certain psalms, the context of which was eschatological. They were meant to evoke the images of the end of Christ's mission in the world, his passion, death and resurrection. The *kathisma* therefore was read for monastic contemplation. The purpose of Mateos' study was textually to analyze the *kathisma* in relation to the vesper services.[174] For our purposes the *kathisma* is also evidence for a specific seating pattern in the church. The Greek word *kathisma* means "sitting," and so denotes the time when parishioners were instructed to sit and contemplate the meaning of the psalms. It is these rules of church liturgy that dictated the provision of seats in Byzantine churches. The evidence we gather from Cappadocia coincides with church regulations. The consistency in the use of seating places in churches also suggests that their provision was necessitated by the long night services, which were strongly maintained by the monastic comunities.

4. Function of the Naos

Keeping in mind the types and location of the various components of liturgical furnishing, the question of their function in the nave arises. Since our materials are limited, we cannot by any means give a complete picture of the nave function. However, the main question we will address here is how the furnishing affected the location of the faithful within the nave.

Starting with the entrance to the nave, the doorway is usually a simple rectangular opening, a key fact for our understanding of the means of access to the local churches. Unlike the multi-door arrangement of Constantinopolitan churches, Cappadocian churches, with very few exceptions, had a single door into the nave.[175] This one-door access made it necessary for clergy, monks, and laity (including women and children) to proceed into the nave through the single door. This reveals a difference in the social classifications in Constantinople and non-urban areas. In

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[173] Mateos, "La Synaxe monastique," 268 ff.

[174] Ibid.

[175] On the use of several doors in the major Constantinopolitan churches: Mathews, *Churches* 13, 14, 21, 35, 48, 52, 55, 64, 71, 81, 82, 91, 111-112, 138-147, 155-162, 178; Strube, *Westliche Eingangsseite*, 47, 50, 61, 142, 164.

Cappadocia this social distinction in the entrance into the nave was simplified to a single orderly procession: clergy and monks entered first, then the lay men, then women.

The presence of the water basin in the western part of the church naves (or in some cases, the south wall) points out that upon entrance to the church the faithful would proceed first to this spot, and only after washing hands and face would they begin their devotional prayers. The water basin, therefore, was a significant component of the church interior, and to the faithful it was the place of spiritual rebirth through the power of the holy water. During the feast of the Epiphany the water basin took on particular importance during the liturgical ceremony of the blessing of the water.

Following the prayer and kissing of icons, the next step was the offering. The constant presence of the prothesis niche to the north of the sanctuary testifies to the fact that this was the place where bread and wine were offered for the liturgy.

As to the seats, we can distinguish their various degrees of importance in the churches. The seats in the bema were for the clergy, while the thrones near the sanctuary were used for local bishops and high-ranking clergy. Remaining seats, depending on the type of church, were occupied by monks and laity. According to the church rites, sitting was permitted during certain parts of the ceremony for the consecration of a bishop and during night vigils, as well as parts of the teaching services, and especially during the reading of the *kathisma*. Although the presence of seats reveals a tradition of being seated during certain parts of the daily ceremonies, we still have little knowledge about the divisions in the nave of the Cappadocian church and where the various social ranks of people stood during the liturgy. In a chapter on the social structure of Cappadocian communities we will present evidence that the laity, including women and children, were part of some of these communities.

The close proximity of the prothesis niche to the sanctuary required that the clergy be near it. That meant the clergy were the closest to the sanctuary. The monks and laymen occupied the space behind the nave. This appears to be a universal order in Byzantine churches. Concerning women, however, Mathews suggested that in Early Christian churches their place was in the galleries.[176] During Middle Byzantine times, galleries were rare and out of fashion. Scholars have usually assigned women a

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[176] Mathews, *Churches*, 128-134.

position to the north side of the church close to the entrance. This too was probably a universally accepted tradition in Byzantine churches. If one looks at the representation of male and female donors together, it is striking that the male donors were in most cases represented closer to the north side of the church and the female to the south. The well-known representation of Justinian and Theodora in the apse of St. Vitale in Ravenna is a good example.[177] The Emperor Justinian with the clergy and male entourage of his court are represented to the north of the apse; the Empress Theodora with the noble ladies of the court occupied the wall to the south of the apse. This tradition continued to be preserved in later times. In the representation of the imperial family in the eleventh-century Hagia Sophia church in Kiev, Russia, Prince Jaroslav's sons are depicted on the north while his four daughters are on the south wall.[178] The donor portraits were similarly arranged on the western wall of the church where Prince Jaroslav stands to the north of Christ enthroned, his wife and the princess to the south. This can be explained by the fact that male donors were portrayed on the right side of Christ who was often depicted in the apse.

Family portraits in Cappadocia were similarly positioned. In the early tenth-century Eğri-Taş Kilise in the Ihlara valley, the layman Christopher is represented to the north of the sanctuary apse,[179] while to the south is his wife Catherine. When family portraits are arranged on the western wall, the female donors are placed on its southern side and the males on the northern side. Examples are found in the eleventh-century Chapel 33 in Göreme and the basilica at Selime.[180] This traditional arrangement of family donors suggests that in general the man's position was to the north and the woman's to the south. Of course, there were variations resulting from individual church plans. For example, in the early tenth-century Karabaş Kilise, seats were constructed in a series of niches in the north wall of the nave.[181] According to an inscription, this church was founded by the monk Bathystrokos who had two sons. Consequently

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[177] Mathews *Churches*, 146-147. For illustration, see F. W. Deichmann, *Ravenna: Hauptstadt des spätantiken Abendlands, I, Geschichte und Monumente* (Wiesbaden 1969) 234-243.

[178] V. N. Lazarev, *Drevnerusskie mozaiki i freski XI-XV vv.* (Moscow 1973) figs. 6, 7.

[179] Thierry, *Hasan Daği*, 42-45, fig. 9.

[180] For Chapel 33 see Restle, *Wall Painting*, II, pl. XXV, ills. 280, 300, and 301; for basilica in Selime see Lafontaine-Dosogne, "Kale Kilisesi," 741-753.

[181] Rodley, *Caves*, figs. 36, 38.

three niche-seats are found in the north wall. The south wall has two seats because an extra space was used for a passageway into the second nave. According to a second inscription we know that this church was repainted in the eleventh century by the Laskaris family.[182] Among the donors, a nun Catherine and a monk Nyphon are mentioned. Their donor portraits were also depicted in the church. A portrait of saint Catherine (the patron saint of the donor), with two daughters, is found on the back of the niche-seat in the north wall and close to the western wall.[183] However, the monk Nyphon, Eudokia, and the Archangel Michael (the patron saint of Michael Skepides) are represented in the second niche.[184] The portraits of the priest Basil and Michael Skepides are represented respectively on the backs of the seat-niches to the north and south of the sanctuary. A representation of two female donors on the backs of seats close to the entrance indicates that these private seats were reserved probably for female donors. Significantly, these are the last seats and are close to the entrance. This important example shows that although, in general, rules existed, they were nevertheless flexible and modified in particular instances. In this case, Cappadocian church tradition was not much different from the tradition observed in other Byzantine churches.

In spite of the fact that donors and laity attended church services, the clergy and monks were the majority of daily participants. The presence of a prothesis niche to the north of the sanctuary, but actually in the nave, is unique among Byzantine churches and made Cappadocian liturgical tradition special, probably resulting from monastic tradition in this area. The constant presence of benches and individual seats in the churches indicate that their need was also primarily dictated by the monks and clergy who served the long-lasting night vigils.

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[182] Jerphanion, II, 336-341, Plates III, pl. 202; Rodley, *Caves*, 198-200; fig. 38.

[183] Restle, *Wall Painting*, III, pl. XLXIII (202); Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, 198-200, fig. 38.

[184] Ibid.

CHAPTER III

Entrances

Narthexes and porches are the architectural units that preceded the church naos. These entrance areas accomodated both the liturgical ceremony and private devotion, as well as many other activities in the daily life of the faithful. For this reason the entrance compartments of Cappadocian churches show a great diversity in architectural design and planning. Some churches are preceded by a porch, others only by a narthex. A number of churches either combine these distinct architectural units or lack them entirely. Furthermore, the placement of these entrance compartments vis-à-vis the naos can also vary. These peculiarities in architectural planning reflected specific needs of Cappadocian parishioners, and thus require an explanation.

In recent years scholars have contributed to our knowledge of the formal and functional aspects of the Byzantine narthex, especially in the churches of Constantinople. Mathews and Strube have offered a great deal of material concerning the architectural planning and functional use of narthexes in the Early Christian churches of the Byzantine capital.[1] Both scholars seem to agree that the narthex is a distinct feature of early Constantinopolitan churches. Moreover, written sources have shed light on some aspects of its function. According to these primary documents the narthex in Constantinopolitan churches was used during the procession of the First Entrance, and other liturgical rites.[2] In addition, Orlandos provided some evidence on the use of auxiliary rooms in the narthexes of early churches in Greece.[3] These studies suggest that there were some distinctions in the planning and function of narthexes in dif-

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[1] Mathews, *Early Churches*, esp. 125, 139-149, 145; Taft, *The Great Entrance*, 179, 192, 196, 199, 200; Strube, *Westliche Eingangsseite*, esp. 13-147. See also U. Peschlow, *Die Irenenkirche in Istanbul Untersuchungen zur Architektur* (Tübingen 1977) 46-48, 206-214.

[2] Mathews, *Early Churches*, esp. 139-149, 145; Taft, *The Great Entrance*, 179, 192, 196, 199, 200; Strube, *Westliche Eingangsseite*, 13-105, 148-165; Peschlow, *Die Irenenkirche in Istanbul*, 46-48, 206-214 (note 1, above); Sodini, Kolokotsas, *Aliki*, I, 165, 166, with bibliography.

[3] A. Orlandos, "He apo tou narthekos pros to hieron metakinesis tou diakonikou," *Deltion*, 18 (1966) 353-373. See also Sodini, Kolokotsas, *Aliki*, vol. 1, 131-133, with further bibliography.

ferent areas of Byzantium. In the entrance compartments in early churches of Constantinople and Greece the narthex usually preceded the porch.[4] The porch was often used in the churches of Greece, and particularly those on the islands. A more specific study on the use of the narthex in the Early and Middle Byzantine churches of Cyprus by Papageorgiou allows us to recognize general trends in the development of entrance compartments on this island.[5] According to Papageorgiou, the narthex was a standard part of the early architecture of Cyprus.[6] Churches built during the Arab invasion, however, had no narthexes.[7] In the tenth century, most of the churches had no narthexes, and some had porches.[8] It is only in the eleventh and twelfth centuries that the narthex began to play an important role in the ecclesiastical architecture of this island.[9] From this material one would suspect that the appearance or disappearance of the narthex was connected with changes in function. Recent studies of churches during the Iconoclast period note churches with narthexes in Constantinople, Greece, and Asia Minor.[10] For Cappadocian architecture neither architectural nor functional aspects of the porch and narthex have received sufficient attention.[11] Preserved data from Early and Middle Byzantine Cappadocia provides valuable information for the entrance compartments in the Early and Middle Byzantine churches of a non-urban area of Byzantium. In the following chapter we will examine the architectural types of both porch and narthex, their arrangement in the churches, their furnishing, function, and their role in the development of local church architecture.

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[4] For examples, see Strube, *Westliche Eingangsseite*, 148-165, ills. 1, 3, 13, 14, 21 (a), 27, 46, 67, 72, 73-78.

[5] Papageorgiou, "Narthex," 437-448.

[6] Ibid., 438.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Papageorgiou, "Narthex," 438-439.

[9] Papageorgiou, "Narthex," 444.

[10] Strube, *Westliche Eingangsseite*, 149-148; Ruggieri, *Architecture*, pls. 18-19, 22-23.

[11] For the burial function of narthexes in the Early and Middle Byzantine architecture of Cappadocia, see Teteriatnikov, "Burial Places," 143-158.

1. PORCH

The porch is a chamber which is adjacent to the church naos or to its narthex. Its distinctive feature is that it opened to the outside.

The frequent appearance of the porch demonstrates its significance in the architectural planning of Cappadocian churches. Unfortunately, many churches in this area have lost their porches. Some have disappeared because of rock erosion, and others were simply destroyed at a later time. Still, the surviving examples from the Early and Middle Byzantine periods allow us to examine their architectural shape, liturgical furnishing and function. It is striking that many churches in this area do not have a narthex but are preceded only by a porch. The sizes of porches are often different: some are very small; others are as large as a narthex. The plans of the porches seem to have varied, including: 1) colonnaded porch, 2) rectangular portico with an archway, 3) diminutive porch, 4) tunnel porch, and 5) cruciform porch.

Colonnaded Porch

A single colonnaded porch is found in Cappadocia, in the early sixth-century church of St. John in Çavuşın (pl. 7).[12] The porch of this large three-nave basilica is in ruins; only a pavement and a ceiling with side walls are still extant. Its monumental columns, supporting the entablature of a good classical profile, have long since collapsed. Recently, continued erosion caused the collapse of the single remaining portion of this important architectural feature. The Çavuşın basilica was visited and described by Jerphanion, Budde, Thierry and Kostof.[13] Their published photographs constitute important documentation of the architectural components of this porch. On the basis of these, Kostof made a reconstruction of the entire facade (pl. 12).[14] Originally the rectangular porch was colonnaded and closed on the sides; its facade was open to the outside through an impressive arcade, consisting of five columns supporting the entablature. Access from the porch into the interior of the basilica was provided through three doors, which are still *in situ*. These three doors correspond to three independent aisles of this basilica, which are

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[12] On the dating and bibliography see chapter 1, note 49.

[13] Jerphanion, I, 54; Plates I, pl. 20(2); Budde, *Göreme*, figs. 26, 27; Kostof, *Caves*, 70-75 and pls. 19, 20, fig. 11; *Arts of Cappadocia*, 93, fig. 45, ph. 36; Thierry, "Un problème de continuité," 134-135, fig. 34.

[14] Kostof, *Caves*, 70-73, fig. 11; See also *Arts of Cappadocia*, ibid., ph. 34.

completely isolated from one another. The side aisles are separated from the central one by a high parapet with a colonnade on top. Thus the north aisle and central nave of the basilica do not communicate with each other, and each has an independent sanctuary. The south aisle, however, has access to the central nave through two tiny doorways, one on the eastern part of the south wall, and the other on the western end. Therefore, the porch of Çavuşın is important as a means of access to three independent liturgical compartments of the basilica. Since the majority of churches in Cappadocia have only one doorway into the church's nave, the presence of three entranceways was dictated by functional need in the liturgical planning of this basilica.

The architectural type of the colonnaded facade of this portico is "classical" in character. Similar facades adorn rock-cut Roman tombs in this area, for example at the village of Avcılar, only three kilometers from Çavuşın.[15] This sort of colonnaded facade, however, is not found in any other churches in this area. The colonnaded porch was common in church architecture of the early Christian period, particularly in Constantinople, Greece, and Asia Minor.[16] However, these churches illustrate the style of the colonnaded portico which is open through an arcade. The style of Çavuşın's porch is typical for the epoch, yet, instead of an arcade, the columns support an entablature. This architectural feature is found in fifth-and sixth-century Syrian churches that have colonnaded porticoes. Some of these porticoes are extended from the church wall with colonnades on their three sides. Others, however, have porticoes very similar to the one at the Çavuşın basilica, as, for instance, the sixth-century church of Numerianos at Umm idj-Djimal, Dar Kîta (537-567), or Bākirhā (ca. A.D. 546).[17]

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[15] Jerphanion, Plates I, pl. 6 (5). For the tomb in Sofular see Thierry, "Materiaux nouveaux," 316-317, fig. 19.

[16] Examples are the Hagia Sophia and St. Erene in Constantinople, St Acheiropoietos and St. Demetrios in Thessaloniki: Strube, *Westliche Eingangsseite*, pl. v, ills. 26, 46, 74-75.

[17] For the location of the portico on the west side of the church: the church of Masechos Umm idj-Djimâl: Butler, *Early Churches*, 20, ill. 14; Kharāb Shems: ibid., 32, ill. 31; Brâd cathedral: ibid., 35, ill. 33; the church of the Holy Apostles in I'djāz: ibid., 40, ill 39; the Klavdianos church in Umm idj-Djimâl: ibid., 46, fig. 44; the church of Sergios and Bacchos: ibid., 47, ill. 45; Shêkh Slemān: ibid., 59, ill. 56; Djerâdeh: ibid., 66, ill. 67; Umm il-Kvttên: ibid., 86, ill. 89; Id-Dêr: ibid., 88, ill. 91; ir-Rvhaiyeh: ibid., 111, ill. 113; Umm idj-Djimâl: ibid., 116, ill. 114-A; Numerianos: ibid., 118, ill. 115; Dêhes: ibid., 134, ill. 140; Dâr Kîta: ibid., 137, ill. 142; Kerrātin: ibid., 157, ill. 169; Masehos in Umm idj-Djimâl: ibid., 178, ill. 187; Bākirhā: ibid., 189, ill. 192. For the location of porticoes the west and south sides: Dâr Kîta: ibid., 137, ill. 142; Behyo:

The architectural configuration of the Çavuşin porch links it to Syrian ecclesiastical architecture, where the colonnaded porch prevailed. Colonnaded porches are also found in the churches of neighboring Cilicia, such as fifth- and sixth-century basilicas in the Alahan monastery.[18] The absence of such a feature in Cappadocia is due to the difficulty and expense in constructing a colonnaded rock-cut porch. Although some classical elements were of long standing in Cappadocian architecture, the classical taste does not seem to predominate as it did in Syria during this period. The commission of such a monumental porch was also probably costly for a patron. Simpler versions of the portico were more practical in their production and use in the churches of this region in the course of their historical development.

Rectangular Portico with an Archway

A rectangular portico with an oblong room open to the outside through a single large archway was widely utilized among Cappadocian churches from Early until Middle Byzantine times. In terms of its planning, this type of entrance compartment is similar to the narthex. The only feature fundamentally different is the entrance that provides an access. While narthexes usually have small rectangular doorways, the porticoes were entered from the outside through an open archway. Because of the openness of its design, it can be entered at any time, whereas the narthex door can be closed at times. There are two versions of this porch type which can be identified in the rock-cut churches. One is usually the size of the church's naos wall, while the other is much smaller, often just large enough to cover the space in front of the door of the naos. Both variations, however, were favored in local church architecture, as can be seen in their continuous use from the early period until the thirteenth century.

Chapel 3 (Mistikan Kilise) in Güzelöz (Mavrucan), dating to around the sixth century, represents one of the earliest examples of the first ver-

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ibid., 141, ill. 149. For porticoes on the west and north sides of the church: Dêr Simân: ibid., 107, ill. 108; il-Anderin: ibid., 190, ill. 193. For the portico on the south facade of the church: Khirbit Hâss: ibid., 37, ill. 36; Chapel at Srîr: ibid., 76, ill. 78; Chapel at Kfêr: ibid., 77, ill. 80; Rbêah: ibid., 77, ill. 81; Nawā: ibid., 160, ill. 171; Burdj Hēdar: ibid., 210, ill. 211. Examples of churches with porticoes on the west, north and south sides of the church: Kalat Siman: ibid., 99, ill. 100; Bankusa: ibid., 130, ill. 131; Rvwêhā: ibid., 145, ill. 155.

[18] Gough, *Alahan*, 30-34, and pls. 24, 25, fig. 71.

sion of this portico type (ill. 59).[19] This single-nave, barrel-vaulted church is preceded from the west by a rectangular porch. One enters from the porch directly to the naos through a small rectangular doorway. At the same time the exit from the porch to the outside is provided through an arch-opening, now only partially preserved. The south part of the arch-opening is flanked by a small elongated window. The symmetrical disposition of the arch and the window on the facade suggests that originally there was probably another window to the north of the arch as well. The overall composition comprising an arch and two flanking windows is unique among Cappadocian churches. Most porch facades include only the one arch opening. Yet Mavrucan's facade finds close parallels in the sixth-century Syrian church at Turmanin.[20] Larger in scale and more elaborate in architectural details, Turmanin's facade is also constituted by an open arch, and the windows in both cases are outlined with several bands of molding. Although Turmanin's porch serves as a very close parallel to that in Mavrucan, porches with one or several arch-openings frequently appear in Syria, as for example in the fifth-century Kalat Seman, the Umm il-Kvttên monastery church, and Rvwêhā Bizzos.[21] Judging from its reconstruction, the sixth-century Armenian church of Ererouk also originally had an open triple porch,[22] a type not popular in the early architecture of either Greece or Constantinople. Thus the Chapel 3 porch with its open archway finds its counterparts in the churches of the Near East, particularly Syria and Armenia. As in the case of the Çavuşın porch, once again we encounter Syrian trends in Cappadocian architecture, trends which were probably familiar to local architects. It is not surprising that architectural motifs were circulating through countries within one geographic area, considering the proximity of Syria. The church at Turmanin, for instance, was probably a cathedral.[23] It would not be surprising that Cappadocian patrons coming from a journey to Syria might have wanted a modest version of the facade of

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[19] See Chapter 1, note 10 above.

[20] De Vogüé, *Syrie centrale*, II, pl. 135. A similar arrangement of an arch with two flanking windows on each side is found in another Syrian church, Qualb Louzeh, ibid., pl. 124; Krautheimer, *Architecture*, 160-165.

[21] For Kalat Seman, see De Vogüé, *Syrie centrale*, II, pl. 141; Mango, *Architecture*, 79-80, and figs. 83-85; Krautheimer, *Architecture*, 152-165; for the Rvwêhā chapel and Umm il-Kvttên, Butler, *Early Churches*, 86, ill. 89; 146, ill. 156.

[22] Candolfo, *Basiliche armene*, fig. 163. See also Mango, *Architecture*, 180 and fig. 195.

[23] Krautheimer, *Architecture*, 165.

the Syrian church. Whatever its origin, the barrel-vaulted rectangular porch with an open archway became the most common among churches of this region.

Chapel 2a in Avcılar represents this porch type during this period (ills. 60, 61).[24] This single-nave chapel has a barrel-vaulted rectangular portico with an open archway. The distinguishing characteristic of this chapel is its portico which adjoins the north facade of the naos, unlike the Güzelöz Chapel 3 where it is linked to the west facade. Access into the chapel's nave is thus possible only from its north wall. The facade of this porch also has several distinguishing features. Unlike the Chapel 6 semicircular arch, it has a horseshoe-shaped arch outlined with carved molding. The monumental appearance of the whole facade is created by cutting its square surface from the rest of the rock and underlining it with moldings along the border. In this manner it resembled the architectural facades of local Roman tombs, for example, that at Avcılar.[25] Although the facade of the Avcılar chapel seems to belong to a long architectural tradition, particularly of Roman tombs, its barrel-vaulted rectangular porch with a horseshoe-shaped arch is similar to porches and narthexes of fifth- and sixth- century Syrian churches.[26] They are also closely linked to the narthexes of Mesopotamian churches such as Mar Gabriel and Mar Yakub in Salah, el 'Adhra in Hah, or the church at Ambar.[27] In fact, this sort of barrel-vaulted porch with a horseshoe-shaped arch was not popular among the churches of Greece or Constantinople. As for Cappadocia, both above-mentioned examples were very much at home, and probably for two reasons. First, barrel-vaulted structures were common in Anatolia as well as in the neighboring areas of the Euphrates during the fifth and sixth centuries.[28] During this period these vaulted rectangular rooms were frequently utilized for the porches and narthexes in the churches in these areas. Secondly, a simple version of the porch, for the most part closed, was probably comfortable considering the climate in this area. In a cold Cappadocian winter, a rainy spring, or a hot summer, this sort of porch would provide shelter for those staying near the

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[24] Teteriatnikov, "Burial Places," 144 and fig. 2.

[25] Thierry, "Un problème de continuité," 106-111, fig. 8.

[26] See note 17, above.

[27] For the plans of Mar Gabriel, Mar Yakub and el 'Adhra, see Bell, *Churches*, figs. 19, 25, 37; for the church at Ambar, see Mundell Mango, "Deux églises de Mésopotamie du Nord: Ambar et Mar Abraham de Kashkar," CA 30 (1982) 47-70, fig. 3.

[28] Krautheimer, *Architecture*, 172, 173.

church. Thus, in spite of the fact that a variety of new vaulting systems were introduced during the Middle Byzantine period, this type of porch continued to be one of the most stable. Nothing particularly new was added to its overall structure. In some cases, however, a flat ceiling was substituted for a barrel vault, as in the case of the ninth-century Chapel of Joachim and Anna in Kızıl Çukur, the eleventh-century Yılanlı Kilise in Ihlara, Chapel 18, or Chapel 23 (Karanlik Kilise) in Göreme, as well as many others (ill. 62).[29]

As in the earlier period the position of Middle Byzantine porches varied (pl. 13). The most common location was on the west side of the church. For example, in the early tenth-century Chapel of St. Simeon in Zelve a rectangular porch is adjacent to the west wall of the single-nave naos.[30] At the same time the porch is entered through a horseshoe-shaped arch which provides access to the porch from its south wall. In the eleventh-century Yılanlı Kilise in Ihlara a small rectangular porch is adjacent to the south wall of its narthex,[31] providing an entrance into both the church and to the narthex from the south. One group of eleventh-century churches displays the location of the porch on the south wall: Cambazlı Kilise in Ortahisar, Yılanlı Kilise in Ihlara or Bahatin Kilise in Belisirma; Derviche Akin in Selime, and the church of the Mother of God, the church of Panagia in Selime, and Kubelli Kilise I (lower church) in Soğanlı.[32] Other tenth and eleventh-century structures show the entrance from the north: Holy Apostles in Mustafapaşa, Kubelli Kilise I in Soğanlı, Kirk Dam Alti (ca. 1282-1304) in Belisirma, Çarıklı and Kılıçlar Kilise in Göreme, and Yazil Kilise in Yaprakhisar.[33] Other churches have the porch on the west side, as would normally be expected in churches of Greece and Constantinople.

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[29] For Joachim and Anna in Kızıl Çukur, see Restle, *Wall Painting*, III, pl. XXXIII; for Karanlık Kilise, see Thierry, *Hasan Dağı*, pl. 22, a, b. For Chapel 18 see *Arts of Cappadocia*, fig. 28.

[30] Kostof, *Caves*, 49, and fig. 3; Rodley, *Caves*, 189, pl. 172; 190, fig. 35.

[31] Thierry, *Hasan Daği*, 90, fig. 20.

[32] For Cambazlı Kilise in Ortahisar, see Restle, *Wall Painting*, I, 151-152; for Chapel 3 in Güllü Dere, see Restle *Wall Painting*, III, pl. XXVIII; for Yılanlı in Ihlara, see ibid., pl. LVII; for Bahattin Kilise in Belisirma, see ibid., pl. LXI; for Derviche Akin and the church of the Mother of God, both in Selime, see Thierry, "Etudes Cappadociennes," 185, figs. 3, 4.

[33] For St. George in Belisirma, see Restle, *Wall Painting*, III, pl. LX; on Yaazil Kilise near Yaprakhisar, see Thierry, "Études cappadociennes," 186, fig. 9; on the Holy Apostles in Mustafapaşa, see Restle, *Wall Painting*, III, pl. XL; for Çarıklı and Chapel 33 (Meryemana) in Göreme: ibid., II, pls. XXI, XXV.

One addition has been made to this type of porch during the Middle Byzantine period: a dome. The domed porch appears in a number of church buildings dating to the tenth and eleventh centuries: the eleventh-century Ala Kilise in Belisirma is a good example (ill. 63).[34] This is a very large cross-in-square church which opens on a rectangular porch through a large semicircular arch. A similar arch provides access from the porch to the outside. A lofty dome on squinches is elevated between the two arches, with the image of Christ Pantokrator painted within the sphere of the dome. The dome with an image of Christ apparently gives this porch a new impression and meaning. First of all, it strikes everyone who enters the church and focuses immediate attention on the sphere with the image. Secondly, a dome gives a more spacious impression to a porch than does a barrel-vaulted or flat ceiling. Another church that possesses a domed porch is the church of St. Barbara in Soğanlı (ill. 64) (ca. 1006).[35] This church is much smaller than the Ala Kilise. The porch is also cruciform in plan but of a diminutive size, large enough to shelter only about four people. The cruciform domed porch of the eleventh-century Chapel A in Zelve belongs to the same family.[36] Thus, we have three examples of domed porches in this area, all belonging to the eleventh century. Most likely, due to their small number and limited chronological range, these domed porches were novel in Cappadocia and probably were inspired from the outside. Because the domed porch appeared simultaneously with the domed narthex, we will discuss their sources below in the section on narthexes. But what must be noted here is that both rectangular and cruciform porches received domes. Thanks to the rock-cut technique, architects had a variety of models at hand with which they could experiment and find new architectural solutions.

Diminutive Porch

Another version of the rectangular porch is one of a similar plan and often shape, but of a considerably reduced size. It is often small enough to cover the space near the entrance door of a church. This type of porch was frequently used in the church architecture of Byzantium and espe-

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[34] Thierry, *Hasan Dağı*, 193-194, pls. 90 and 92a. On the plan of this church see Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, 119-120.

[35] Restle, *Wall Painting*, III, pl. XLVI; Jerphanion, II, 312, 313; Plates III, pl. 194 (1).

[36] Jerphanion, Plates II, pl. 136.

cially Syria.[37] In built churches, such a porch appears as a freestanding architectural component attached to the main body of the church. In the rock-cut Cappadocian churches, it is hewn within the rock and therefore has a different appearance from the outside. While the Syrian examples are colonnaded small structures, the Cappadocian ones are rather simple small rectangular spaces covered on the sides. Their simplicity and the comfort they provided to those entering the church were probably the reasons that this type of porch was preferred in this region.

The earliest porch of this kind is found in the double-nave Chapel near Chapel 3 in Güzelöz (Mavrucan) (fig. 65).[38] The small barrel-vaulted entrance of this church provided access only to the north nave. While the interior of this porch is not particularly special, its facade does deserve special attention. The facade wall near the porch is slightly widened on the sides. In front of its facade the architects constructed a wide passageway like that known as a *dromos*. Similar examples of this *dromos* can be found in a number of early Christian Syrian tombs, as for instance, in the fifth-century tomb in Kherbet-Haas, Erbey'eh, or El-Barah.[39] It appears also in the fifth-century Armenian funerary chapel in Aghts.[40] In addition, early Christian tombs in Phrygia used the *dromos* as an adaptation of Roman ones. Therefore, the appearance of the *dromos* in the early Cappadocian church is a parallel phenomenon. Its presence testifies to two important factors. First of all, the *dromos* was, no doubt, adopted by early Christian architects from local Roman tomb structures and appeared as an archaising element in the Cappadocian chapel as well as in those of Syria, Phrygia or Armenia. Secondly, since the *dromos* does not appear in the Middle Byzantine architecture of Cappadocia, we are inclined to think that it was particularly in the early Christian period that architects worked on both rock-cut private tombs and churches. Thus the presence of a *dromos* in the Chapel near Chapel 3 in Güzelöz once more points out to the connection between the Early Christian church and private funerary architecture. The roots of both go back to Roman times. This type of small porch, without any changes, was used in some Cappadocian churches of Middle Byzantine times. Similar porches are seen in

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[37] One of the typical examples of this sort of porch, widely used in Syria, can be seen in Kalat Seman: De Vogüé, *Syrie centrale*, II, pl. 135, 141.

[38] Thierry, "Art byzantin," 235-237, figs. 2, 3.

[39] Butler, *Syria*, Plates II, 82, 89.

[40] N. M. Tokarskii, *Po stranitzam istorii armianskoi arkhitektury* (Erevan 1973) 59, and fig. 7.

churches such as the tenth-century Balleq Kilise and the tenth-century Münşil Kilise, both in Soğanlı, as well as in others.[41]

Tunnel Porch

The tunnel porch appears oblong, a barrel-vaulted room extending forward from the door entrance, and is completely open to the outside through a wide arch opening. Its width and length differ from one church to another. Very few examples of this sort of porch are found in Cappadocia, and they all belong to churches which can be dated to the ninth and early tenth centuries. One of the earliest examples of this kind of porch can be found in the church of St. Niketa the Stylite in the Kızıl Çukur valley, roughly dated to the eighth or ninth century.[42] This church has a barrel-vaulted nave; thus the porch and the nave are very much alike. Moreover, the vaults of both the porch and the nave are decorated with a large figure of a cross at the center and are ornamented with floral motifs. Chapel 6 in Güzelöz, probably of the same period, has an almost identical porch.[43] The difference is that in this case the long barrel-vaulted porch of Chapel 6 is attached to the western wall of a cruciform church. The distinct feature of these two porches is that they run the length of the western wall of the naos. These are two more examples of the same type but they are reduced in size.

A small version of the tunnel-like porch is found at the end of the ninth century in Chapel 4 (Ayvalı Kilise) in Güllü Dere and in the early tenth-century Holy Apostles in Mustafapaşa. In the case of Ayvalı the porch is attached to the north nave of the church.[44] Its vault is decorated with an image of a cross and figures of Constantine and Helena on the sides. A lunette above the entrance is painted with an image of the Virgin and Child. In the case of the Holy Apostles church, the porch is located in

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[41] Jerphanion, II, 206-234, 249-270.

[42] Schiemenz and Restle dated this church to the ninth century: Schiemenz, "Ortahisar," 258; Restle, "Kappadokien," col. 212. Thierry and Jolivet-Lévy attributed it to the seventh and early eighth century: Thierry, "L'église peinte de Nicétas stylite," 451-455, and figs. 1-2; for a complete bibliography on this church, p. 455, note 1. Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 53-56; cf. Teteriatnikov, "St. Basil," 99-144. For illustration, Budde, *Göreme*, pl. 34.

[43] Jerphanion, II, 206-234.

[44] For the dating of Ayvalı Kilise: Thierry and Thierry, "Ayvalı Kilise," 98-154 and plan fig. 1.

the northeast side of the north wall of the north nave (ill. 66).[45] Its vault is decorated with a scene of Pentecost.[46] This type of small porch resembles one still standing in the church of the Panaghia (ca. 873-874) in Skripou, Greece, indicating that this simple porch was used in Byzantine architecture elsewhere.[47]

It is interesting, however, that this type of long tunnel-like porch is found in Cappadocia only in a short period of time in the ninth and tenth centuries. Porches like those in the chapels of St. Niketa the Stylite in Kızıl Çukur, Sts. Peter and Paul in Meskandir, and Chapel 6 in Güzelöz, however, are unique; they are not found among early churches nor in the Middle Byzantine period. They also have no parallels among Byzantine churches elsewhere. We may assume then that this type of porch was probably not practical (its front side was completely open, which was inconvenient particularly in winter or spring). On the other hand, because of the openness of its design, a painted decoration on its vault is visible from the outside and can be observed from a distance. Since examples of this type of porch are limited, it seems that it was an experimental case which emerged within a transitional period, most probably during or immediately after the period of Iconoclasm. In fact, this sort of porch disappeared at a later time, probably because it was too long and open.

Cruciform Porch

Finally, the cruciform porch was rare among the types of entrance compartments, and is also found only in the churches of the Middle Byzantine period. Several examples have survived from this period. One of the earliest is in the church of St. Barbara in Soğanlı (ca. 1006) (ill. 64).[48] The small cruciform porch at St. Barbara is attached to the western wall of the single-nave naos, and provides access to the naos through a small doorway. At the same time, one enters from the outside through an open archway in the western wall of the porch. The porch itself is a tiny cruciform shape, and like some of the rectangular porches it has a small

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[45] Jerphanion, II, 60-63, Plates III, pl. 149; Restle, *Wall Painting*, I, 153, 154; III, pl. XL and fig. 404.

[46] Jerphanion, II, 60-63, Plates III, pl. 149.

[47] Mango, *Architecture*, 208-210, pl. 230.

[48] Jerphanion, II, 312, 313 and Plates III, pl. 194(1); Restle, *Wall Painting*, III, pl. XLVI. For a more complete plan see Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, 203-206, fig. 39.

dome. The dome's sphere is decorated with an image of the cross.[49] In addition, figures of saints and martyrs are set in semicircular lunettes below the dome.[50] The size of the porch is the length of two graves cut within its pavement on both sides of the north and south arms. This chapel has a small parekklesion attached to its north wall and communicating with the main church through a passageway. At the same time this parekklesion has its own small cruciform domed porch. But contrary to the layout of the porch on the central axis of the church, the porch in the parekklesion is lined up with the door which is at the northern end of the west wall of this chapel. Porches of this type are small and can be attached to any entrance to the church. Other examples of similar porches can be seen in eleventh-century churches, such as the Sahinefendi Monastery church, Aynalı Kilise (Chapel 14) in Göreme, and chapels of Açik Saray Nos. 2, and 3.[51] All these churches belong to the eleventh-century period when this type of small domed porch seems to have developed. The presence of a dome in a cruciform porch is rare in Cappadocian churches. The only two examples, which we observed above, are found in rectangular porches. Since all of these examples date to the eleventh century, they reflect new developments in the rock-cut church architecture of this region. Their appearance seems to depend on the evolution of domed narthexes in Byzantine architecture, a phenomenon to be discussed below. It is important to note here that the cruciform plan of the porch like the one in the church of St. Barbara is equally rare. Usually the cruciform plan is used for church naves in this region, and so the appearance of one on a diminutive porch seems to have been an experiment. At the same time, the cruciform plan is often found among Cappadocian narthexes of the same period. This significant component again signals innovations in the Cappadocian Middle Byzantine narthex as well as the enrichment of the repertoire and design of the local porch. Before concluding our discussion of the architectural development of the porch in the church architecture of Cappadocia, however, we will consider its furniture.

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[49] Restle, *Wall Painting*, III, pl. XLVI.

[50] Jerphanion, II, 313.

[51] For Sahinefendi, see Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, 33-36, plan 6; for Aynalı Kilise, see ibid, 56-63, plan 11; for Açik Saray chapels, see ibid, 132-150, plans 21, 27.

Furnishing of Porches

In contrast to the church interior, porches in this area are not provided with much in the way of furnishing. In many Early as well as Medieval Byzantine porches we do not find furnishing. Occasional examples surviving from both periods, however, indicate that some porches were furnished for special purposes. Among these examples, rock-cut benches, and, more rarely, water basins, can be found.

Benches are found more frequently in porches than are any other type of furniture. The earliest examples of the rock-cut bench can be found in the Chapel 2a in Avcılar, which can be dated to the end of the sixth or the early seventh century (ill. 61).[52] In this chapel, benches were cut along the walls of the porch, as they were in the naos. They are heavily damaged now, because a great number of small graves for infants were cut within the benches.[53] This porch is the only one in the early period that has benches. Although rare, benches were still found in the Middle Byzantine porch, as, for example, in the tenth-century Chapel 9 in Göreme, the eleventh-century Chapel 18, etc.[54] The rare appearance of benches in Cappadocian porches in both periods suggests that they were not much used in these entrance compartments. First of all, many porches in this area are too small to include a bench; the space was needed to allow people to pass. Secondly, as I have already mentioned, tombs were frequently excavated in the pavement of porches. In this sense, space was very important, and graves often covered the entire pavement. It is difficult to ascertain whether or not benches were used in porches of the early churches of Byzantium as well. We do not have any surviving stone or rock-cut benches. It is possible that they were made of wood, particularly in built churches. In any case, in some of the Middle Byzantine churches we find parallels to those in Cappadocia. Although they are rare, they can be found in a small porch of a funeral crypt in the elev-

[52] For the dating and plan of this chapel see Teteriatnikov, "Burial Places," 144, figs. 2, 3.

[53] Ibid. Although graves of small children have often appeared on published plans, this burial custom has not been studied by art historians. This burial custom was common in Cappadocian churches; similar graves in benches are also found in the nave of this chapel. Unfortunately, we do not have evidence for the dating of these graves. It seems, however, that they were made in the medieval period, and were probably contemporary with gaves within the pavement. There were so many graves in pavement of this chapel that, in addition, tombs for infants were made within the benches.

[54] Benches are not included in published plans.

enth-century monastery church of Hosios Loukas,[55] in the south porch of the thirteenth-century Hagia Sophia in Trebizond, Asia Minor, and others.[56] Benches also appear in some porches in the churches of the medieval West.[57] A comparison between the use of benches in churches of Cappadocia in Byzantium indicates that in both cases there were no strict regulations concerning the use of these seats near the church entrance.

The architectural planning of the porches as well as their furnishings allow us to draw several conclusions. First of all, the porch appears as an important part of local church architecture and was used predominantly in the early churches of this area. Unlike those in the Constantinopolitan churches, Cappadocian porches were sometimes substituted for the narthex. A similar phenomenon can be observed in the church architecture of Syria, Armenia and Georgia, where the narthex was often omitted in church planning.[58] It is also significant that the porch continued to be used along with the narthex during the Middle Byzantine period in Cappadocia. Although some examples of a porch can be found here and there in Byzantine architecture, the narthex seems to prevail in the Middle Byzantine churches of Greece, Constantinople and the Balkans. The second factor that can be emphasized here is that some churches have only a porch, while others utilized both a narthex and a porch. Another important feature of Cappadocian church architecture is the richness, variety and longevity of porch types. The two earliest versions of the porch — colonnaded and rectangular barrel-vaulted — came from the local tradition. The colonnaded porch was not much used among rock-cut Cappadocian churches because of its classical character and expense. Instead, a simple portico was developed from the early period on. Middle

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[55] In the porch of the crypt of the monastery of Hosios Lukas, benches are located along the north and south wall: Shultz, Barnsley, *Hosios Lukas*, pl. 3.

[56] D. Talbot Rice, ed., *The Church of Hagia Sophia at Trebizond* (Edinburgh 1968) fig. 1.

[57] G. H. Cook, *The English Medieval Parish Church* (London 1954) 189.

[58] None of the early Armenian churches has a narthex. Most of them, such as Tekor, K'asal, S. Xač, Dvin, S. Grigor, the Alc' basilica, the Ererouk basilica, and Odzoun, have only a porch: see Gandolfo, *Basiliche armene*, figs. 25, 37, 65, 68, 164, 200. Similarly, the narthex was omitted in Georgian churches. Many churches have no entrance compartments; some have only a porch: for example the Bolnisi basilica, or the sixth-century Kvemo-Bolnisi, or the seventh-century Tsromi, and eighth-century Samshvilde: see Mepisashvili and Tsintadze, *Arts of Ancient Georgia*, figs. pp. 68, 76, 90, 99. The porch was also predominantly used in the church architecture of Syria. For examples, see the list in note 17, above.

Byzantine churches in Cappadocia introduced new types of porches, such as the tunnel porch, the cruciform porch, and the domed porch. It seems that there were no strict restrictions as to the shape, form, or planning of the porch or its orientation to the naos. All these new features in the local porch seem to have depended on the general development of architectural forms during the Middle Byzantine period, and, in particular, on the development of Byzantine narthexes, where a similar phenomenon occurred. Finally, an examination of porch development over a long period of time shows that some architectural forms are limited to a specific period of time, and then simply disappear at a later period, whereas others are retained throughout the history of the local architecture. This fact is important in understanding the development of local tradition in architecture as well as its modifications and transformations. Since the Cappadocian porch was used side by side with the narthex, we encounter similar problems when dealing with this church compartment.

2. Narthex

In contrast to the use of the narthex in the churches of Constantinople, it was not equally used throughout the history of Cappadocian rock-cut church architecture.

The narthex was not always included in the church architecture of Cappadocia. It was rare among early Christian churches in this area. Its frequent use throughout Middle Byzantine churches points to a greater demand for it in local ecclesiastical foundations. The similarity between early Christian examples and those of the Middle Byzantine period lets us recognize the process of change within the general stream of its development. Narthexes in Greece and Constantinople share common features. The presence of the narthex in Early and Middle Byzantine architecture in these areas is consistent. The placement of the narthex on the west side of the church is well-grounded in these areas. Although doors in the north and south walls of churches are found, the main access to the naos and the narthex is provided from the west.[59] From the general perspective of the development of the Byzantine narthex, that in Cappadocia is puzzling in terms of its absence or presence in the churches, as well as of its different adjacency vis-à-vis the church's wall.

[59] Strube, *Westliche Eingangsseite*, 87-96.

As mentioned above, many churches in this area have no narthexes and are preceded only by a porch, and in some cases lack both. The orientation of narthexes is also inconsistent. Narthexes are located on the north, west or south side of a church's naos. In addition to the variability in the placement of the narthex, entrances to this space appear in different locations. These aspects of the architectural planning of the Cappadocian narthex raise the problem of the origin and development of these local phenomena.

Architectural Types and Planning

Only one early Christian church in this region, the basilica of Durmuş Kadir in the village of Avcılar, preserves its narthex.[60] Located on the west side of the church, the narthex is rectangular in shape and barrel-vaulted. Its center doorway is framed by an impressive arch that provided communication between the narthex and the naos (pl. 3). The placement of the narthex on the west side of the naos is standard in Byzantine church architecture. In this church, however, the entrance to the narthex is not located in the western wall as is typical, but on the south. Although early Constantinopolitan narthexes have subsidiary entrances on their north and south walls, major doorways are located in their western walls, corresponding to the entrance from the narthex to the naos. The placement of the main entrance to the Durmuş Kadir basilica on the south side of the narthex corresponded to the location of the road leading toward the village of Avcılar.[61] The basilica itself is cut within the rock to parallel the valley's road. Such an arrangement of narthex entrances was typical for Middle Byzantine churches in Cappadocia where rock-cut churches were often oriented to the road system.[62]

The shape of the Durmuş Kadir narthex is also unusual. Its interior shows an oblong barrel-vaulted room similar to the porch of Chapel 2a in the same village.[63] The longitudinal barrel-vaulted porch as well as the barrel-vaulted narthex are found in the churches of Mesopotamia around this time.[64] Both regional styles probably developed independently, and

[60] It can be dated roughly to the end of the sixth or early seventh century. For bibliography see Chapter 1, note 17, above.

[61] *Arts of Cappadocia*, Plan 4: Avcılar and Göreme.

[62] Most of the entrances into the churches of the Göreme valley are oriented toward the roads; ibid., 79 and fig. 28.

[63] Teteriatnikov, "Burial Places," fig. 2.

[64] See note 27, above.

thus the barrel-vaulted room was commonly used in both Anatolia and Mesopotamia from the beginning of early Christian architecture.[65] In Cappadocia, this particular type of longitudinal rectangular barrel-vaulted narthex became a model for the Middle Byzantine narthex. Among preserved narthexes, that of Durmuş Kadir is the only one that can be dated to the early Christian period. The other early churches had porches only. This does not mean that there were no other early Christian churches with a narthex; but the ratio of narthex to porch in early Christian churches is unequal. The porch seems to have dominated over the narthex. This evidence is further supported by the early Christian built churches in this area, which were recently studied and published by Restle.[66] The majority of built churches in this area have no narthex. We also do not know what was happening in church architecture in this area during the Iconoclast period. With regard to the Middle Byzantine period, however, it is clear that the narthex appears to be an important feature of local church planning.

Only one ninth-century Cappadocian church has a narthex, the double-naved church of Joachim and Anna in Kızıl Çukur.[67] This small rectangular narthex, joined to the western wall of the south nave, provides the only access to that space (pl. 14).[68] Both naves are of the same size, have separate apses, and were originally separated by an arcade. For these reasons, each nave probably served as a separate chapel. The narthex of the south nave was also the entrance to the north nave. This narthex also joined a small rectangular funerary chamber to the west. This type of rectangular narthex, with variations in size and vaulting, was widely used in the churches of the tenth and eleventh centuries.

From the tenth century, the narthex became a prominent part of local architecture. This architectural change coincided with the time of the Macedonian dynasty, when Cappadocia had a strong reciprocal relationship with Constantinople. The social, historical and military relationship of Cappadocia with the Byzantine capital will be discussed elsewhere in this study, but it is important to note at this point that these relationships

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[65] See note 27, above.

[66] This study shows that only Sarigöl, Çavdarlik, and Kızıl Kilise in Sivrihisar have narthexes: Restle, *Studien*, I, 24, 28, 29, 57; II, plans 6, 10, 49.

[67] On dating: N. Thierry, "Église de Kızıl Tchoukour, chapelle iconoclaste, chapelle de Joachim et Anna," MonPiot 50 (1958) 105-146; Restle, *Wall Painting*, I, 25, 26; Epstein, "The 'Iconoclast' Churches in Cappadocia," 103-111, and note 3; Teteriatnikov, "St. Basil," 101-103; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 47-50, with further bibliography.

[68] On its plan: Restle, *Wall Painting*, III, pl. XXXIII.

had an impact on local church architecture and the design of the narthex in this area in particular. In order to understand the architectural development of the narthex, it would be useful to begin our examination with the general plans of the narthex, its orientation to the naos, the relationship of doorways, its vaulting, and finally its furniture.

Irrespective of the size of a church, small or large, the narthex retained its rectangular form. As was the case with early porches and narthexes, one doorway again became a standard feature. Examples of narthexes consisting of a small rectangular room can be seen in the tenth-century churches of Göreme, such as Chapel 9, Chapel 14, and Chapel 15a.[69] They were also common in the eleventh-century churches in the same area, for example in the Chapel 10 (St. Daniel), Chapel 18, and Chapel 21a, 21c, and 27 (all in Göreme), and others (ill. 62).[70]

One finds narthexes of this type, but larger in size, in tenth-century churches such as Old Tokalı Kilise and the Pigeon House in Çavuşın; in the eleventh-century Eski Gümüş in Niğde; in the eleventh-century Chapel 19 (Elmalı Kilise) in Göreme, and others.[71] Several transverse-nave churches of the eleventh century have a narthex running along the western wall of the transverse nave. Because it is usually long, it often has several archways within the western wall for better communication between both spaces. This can be seen in the eleventh-century churches of the Yılanlı group, such as Chapel 2a (Saklı Kilise) and Chapel 18, both in Göreme (ill. 62).[72] Besides three archways between the nave and the narthex, the latter has only one doorway to the outside, like many other Cappadocian narthexes. This sort of narthex arrangement is unusual and is not found in any other areas in Cappadocia or Byzantine churches elsewhere. For that reason it can probably be attributed to local experimentation.

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[69] For Chapel 9, see Jerphanion, Plates I, pl. 28. It is similar to Chapel 15a: see Schiemenz, "Verschollene Malereien in Göreme," 70-96, fig. p. 75.

[70] For Chapel 10 (St. Daniel) see Teteriatnikov, "Burial Places," 148, and fig. 9; for chapels 18, 21, and 27, see *Arts of Cappadocia*, fig. 28.

[71] For the illustration of the Old Tokalı, see Restle, *Wall Painting*, II, pl. X; Epstein, *Tokalı*, 6, ills. 4, 6, 12-13; for the Pigeon House in Çavuşın, see Jerphanion, Plates II, fig. 139 (3); on Eski Gümüş, see Gough, "The Monastery Church of Eski Gümüş," 255, plan on p. 256, fig. 2; for Chapel 19 (Elmalı Kilise), see Restle, *Wall Painting*, II, pl. XVIII. The narthex of Chapel 19 (Elmalı Kilise) is for the most part destroyed.

[72] For the plan of Chapel 18, see *Arts of Cappadocia*, 79, fig. 28; for 2a (Saklı Kilise), see Restle, *Wall Painting*, II, pl. II, ill. 21.

Although the entrance to the narthex from outside is usually found in the western wall, there are many cases when it occurred in the north or south wall as well. This irregularity of narthex entrances again is found in early Cappadocian architecture. As mentioned above, both narthexes and porches predominantly share a one-door arrangement. Several narthexes in the Middle Byzantine Cappadocia show a doorway in the north wall, as for instance in the early tenth-century Chapel 9, the eleventh-century Chapel 10 (St. Daniel) in Göreme, and the Tağar triconch.[73]

There are churches where the entrance into the narthex is located only in the south wall, as seen in the ninth-century St. Stephen in Cemil, the tenth-century St. Simeon in Zelve, the eleventh-century Cambazlı Kilise in Ortahisar, the eleventh-century Eski Gümüş in Niğde, and the eleventh-century Direkli Kilise in Belisirma.[74] In contrast with the churches in Greece and Constantinople, where in some churches the narthexes have several entrances in the western wall, in Cappadocia a variety of choices are found. Similar variations in orientation of the narthex to the naos are also observed. The standard arrangement of the narthex in Byzantine churches was on the west; in some Cappadocian churches, however, the narthex is adjacent to the north or south wall of the church. For example, the narthex in the eleventh-century churches, the Chapel 10 (St. Daniel) in Göreme, and the Tağar triconch is north of the naos and thereby provided access to the interior of the church from the north. A similar solution is used in the tenth-century Pürenli Seki Kilise in Ihlara and in Çarıklı Kilise in Göreme (now destroyed).[75]

In several churches the narthex is linked to the naos from the south wall. This arrangement can be seen in Chapel 19a (Tokalı Kilise) in the Soğanlı valley.[76] The narthex here is small and squarish. In the eleventh-century Cambazlı near Ortahisar a large rectangular narthex occupies a space along the side of the south wall of the naos and has access to the

[73] For the plan of the Chapel 10 (St. Daniel), see Teteriatnikov, "Burial Places," 148, fig. 9; for the Tağar triconch: Restle, *Wall Painting*, III, pl. XXXV; for Chapel 9, Jerphanion, Plates I, pl. 28.

[74] For St. Stephen in Cemil, see Restle, *Wall Painting*, III, pls. XLIII; Eski Gümüş, Gough, "The Monastery Church of Eski Gümüş," plan on p. 256; for Cambazlı, Restle, *Wall Painting*, I, 151; for Direkli, ibid., III, pl. LXII; for St. Simeon in Zelve, Kostof, *Caves*, 49 fig. 3.

[75] For Pürenli Seki Kilise, see Restle, *Wall Painting*, III, pl. LIV; for Chapel 10 (St. Daniel), see Teteriatnikov, "Burial Places," 148, fig. 9; for the Tağar triconch, Restle, *Wall Painting*, III, pl. XXXV; for Chapel 22 (Çarıklı Kilise), *Wall Painting*, II, pl. XXI.

[76] The plans of these churches have not been published.

naos from the south.[77] This disposition of the narthex is important for it depended on the naos for its access. Thus, in accordance with the narthex location, the entrance into the church naos in this area can be arranged from the west, north, or south wall. It is noticeable, however, that the arrangement of the narthex near the north wall of the naos is more common than near the south. All orientations of the narthexes and their entrances, however, show diversities of choices. This seems to be a distinguishing feature of Cappadocian narthexes, different from the entrance compartments of Constantinople and Greece.[78]

In addition to the peculiarities in the planning of the narthexes, there are also differences in shape and size of the doorways leading from the narthex to the naos. In general, they are rendered in two different fashions. One is a simple rectangular doorway which provided access to the naos. In this case, the narthex appeared to be totally separated from the latter. If one stands in the narthex during the liturgy, the liturgy would not be visible to the faithful.

The second type of access, however, is different: it is made in the form of a large archway. This large arched opening creates a big difference in the function of the narthex. First of all, it provides more accessibility between the narthex and the naos. Secondly, the openness of its design eliminates any barrier between the narthex and the naos, so that parishioners staying in the narthex were able to observe and participate in the liturgy as if they were standing in the nave. The open arch appeared only in a few churches. The earliest example is found in the Old Tokalı Kilise, which originally was a single-nave barrel-vaulted church. Its barrel-vaulted narthex was separated from the naos only by a broad semicircular archway (ills. 67, 69).[79] Such a construction makes both architectural spaces easily accessible and visible. This model was used in the eleventh-century Yılanli Kilise in Ihlara.[80] Judging from these examples, it seemed that this architectural solution of free communication between the narthex and the naos was dictated by the specific needs of local communities. The open design of the above discussed narthexes reduced their architectural independence in the spatial organization of the churches and, therefore, it appears in rare instances. The majority of

[77] Restle, *Wall Painting*, I, 151, pl. XXXVIII.

[78] The majority of churches in Constantinople and Greece have a narthex on the west side of the naos.

[79] Restle, *Wall Painting*, II, pl. X.

[80] Restle, *Wall Painting*, III, pl. LVII and fig. 503.

churches seemed to utilize a more common closed space. Simultaneously with local experimentation in doorway arrangements, there were also various trends in treating the vaulting.

Ćurčić suggested that the twin-domed narthexes in the church architecture of Serbia were developed in connection with their funerary function.[81] The question then arises whether this custom was followed in Cappadocia.

With respect to Cappadocia, we have three types of ceiling in the narthex: barrel-vaulted ceiling, flat ceiling, and domed ceiling. Barrel-vaulted and flat ceilings were the most common, and both were found in porches and narthexes of the Early and Middle Byzantine periods. Domed narthexes seemed to be a new architectural solution. All surviving examples have only one dome in the narthex, usually covering a space between the entrance to the narthex and the entrance to the naos. Architecturally and visually, the dome in the narthex emphasized the importance of the place between the two entrances. This is also the case of domed porches. Similarly to the latter, a few examples of domed narthexes are found in this area.

The earliest narthex which preserves a dome is found in the Kılıçlar Kilise in Göreme, dated to around the year 900.[82] Therefore we encounter in Cappadocia one of the earliest surviving domed narthexes in Byzantine architecture. Unfortunately only the eastern portion of the dome still stands, but enough remains to indicate that it was a cruciform structure. It was probably similar in plan and spatial organization to that in the eleventh-century Chapel 21 at Göreme.[83] Other examples also date from the eleventh century such as Chapel 14 and Chapel 25 in Göreme.[84]

In the study of Byzantine architecture, the problem of the domed narthex and porch has almost never been addressed. An exception is in the above mentioned article by Ćurčić in which he dealt with twin-domed narthexes, where domes were placed above the corner chapels.[85] In the case of the latter, these domes were not visible from the lower level of the narthex; they could only be observed inside the chapels. However, there are Middle Byzantine examples where the dome is located in the central access area to the church between the two

[81] Ćurčić, "Narthex," 342-344.

[82] Restle, *Wall Painting*, II, pl. XXIV.

[83] *Arts of Cappadocia*, 79, fig. 28.

[84] *The Arts of Cappadocia*, 79 and fig. 28.

[85] Ćurčić, "Narthex," 333-334.

entrances. In the Constantinopolitan twelfth-century Pantocrator monastery the inner narthex of the south church is domed.[86] Here, neither the narthex of the north church nor the outer narthex of the south church has a dome. The only dome covers a central bay above the entrance into the south church. The second preserved Constantinopolitan example is found in the eleventh- or twelfth-century Vefa Kilise Camii.[87] These two examples are the earliest surviving examples in Byzantine capital. The eleventh-century katholikon of Nea Moni, Chios, has a domed narthex similar to Constantinopolitan models.[88] The only example of an earlier domed narthex is the church of the Archangels in Sige, Asia Minor, dated to ca. 780.[89] One would suspect that the domed narthexes in the churches of this period in the Byzantine capital did not survive; yet, examples from Sige and Cappadocia provide possible evidence for their existence. Observation of single-domed narthexes shows that they are found mostly in Middle Byzantine buildings, and are rare. Further observation of domed narthexes in Cappadocia show that they are all of cruciform shape, and are attached either to a cross-in-shape naos as in Kılıçlar Kilise and Chapel 25, or to a cruciform naos as in Chapel 21.[90]

In fact, the domed narthex was well integrated with small domed cruciform or cross-in-square churches. A specific disposition of a single-dome narthex on the same axis with the central dome of the naos seems to belong to small church buildings. In the larger Constantinopolitan churches, this composition would not be appropriate; multiple domes over narthexes were probably the better solution.

There are several observations to be made about the single-domed narthex. First, the earliest examples of this type are in Cappadocia. Secondly, local Cappadocian architects applied the Byzantine idea of the domed narthex to the small cruciform-shaped narthex, a form that was well developed in the local architecture. Finally, because the majority of narthexes had barrel-vaulted or flat ceilings, it seems that introduction of domes did not entirely change the narthex function in the region. As

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[86] T. F. Mathews, *The Byzantine Churches of Istanbul: A Photographic Survey* (University Park and London 1976) 71-74, plan p. 74.

[87] Ibid., 40, 41.

[88] Ch. Bouras, *Nea Moni on Chios. History and Architecture* (Athens 1982) 56-63; figs. 25-27, 52-53; D. Mouriki, *The Mosaics of Nea Moni on Chios* (Athens 1985) I, figs. 3-4.

[89] Buchwald, *Church*, 14-17, and pl. VII, fig. 33, pl. VIII, fig. 34.

[90] For Kılıçlar Kilise, see Restle, *Wall Painting*, II, pl. XXIV; for chapels 21 and 25, see *Arts of Cappadocia*, 79 and fig. 28.

illustrated earlier, narthexes were used for burials in this area from the early until the late Byzantine period. Therefore, the appearance of the dome over the narthex or porch does not seem to lead to any specific changes in function. Moreover, what was significant was an iconographic representation of a cross, carved or painted, which appeared on various ceiling types of narthexes and porches. This image of the cross was much more significant than the shape of the ceiling. The dome, however, added to the spatial organization of the narthex. Crowned with the dome, the central bay of the narthex aquired a particular significance as the entrance into the naos. Decorated with the image of the cross or Christ, the dome further directed the faithful toward these images.

Several conclusions can be reached from our examination of Cappadocian narthexes. First of all, the overall type of narthex as well as the style of the ceiling — barrel-vaulted or flat — continued to be used from Early until Middle Byzantine times. There was a variety of locations for the narthex vis-à-vis its position to the naos, and entrances to the narthex can be found at various points along the narthex wall. All these features seem to indicate a strong local tradition. Several changes emerged in the development of the Middle Byzantine narthex, an architectural feature that became a significant part of local rock-cut church architecture at this time. Thus the tunnel and cruciform types of the narthex were introduced. Cappadocian architects were also sensitive to influences from abroad. The domed narthex appeared to have been a new architectural form, and its appearance does not seem to reflect any particular change in function.

Furnishing of the Narthex

Furnishings are rarely found in both the porches and the narthex. They are usually limited to 1) benches and 2) a water basin.

1: Benches

The narthex of the Durmuș Kadir basilica, dated to the sixth or early seventh century, does not contain seating places. As mentioned above, the porch was the preferred design among early Cappadocian churches. Because porches in these early churches were usually provided with benches, it is not surprising to find them in some of the Middle Byzantine narthexes. In fact, cube-like benches cut out along the wall of the narthex are similar to those found in porches. They appear in very few

examples, such as the eleventh-century churches of Chapel 18 in Göreme or Çambazlı Kilise near Ortahisar.[91] The early Christian narthex elsewhere in Byzantium also used seats in the interior. For example, brick benches are found in the narthexes of the fifth-century basilicas I, III in Peyia in Cyprus.[92] The use of benches in the Cappadocian narthex seems to parallel their appearance in Middle Byzantine churches elsewhere. Their presence is recorded in studies of the churches of Greece, Kastoria, the Balkans and Asia Minor (ill. 68).[93] In the majority of churches wooden chairs were probably used as they are seen now in the Greek churches, as for instance in the inner narthex of the katholikon at Nea Moni, Chios.[94]

Regarding Cappadocia, benches were constructed in larger narthexes when there was enough room to include seating places. Smaller narthexes, like the one in the Joachim and Anna church in Kızıl Çukur, often are unfurnished. Thus, the space of the narthex provided only enough room to gain access to the church. The presence or absence of benches shows that narthexes could have different functions.

2: Water Basin

Another point is the use of water basins. While benches are a predominant element in furnishings in narthexes, the water basin appears in only two cases. One water basin is found in a small rectangular narthex in the mid-tenth-century church near Saklı Kilise in Göreme.[95] The narthex of this single nave church is rectangular and joins the eastern side of the south wall. Its eastern wall is in ruins but the others remain standing. The western wall, which is close to the church entrance, has a large square niche at the bottom of which is carved a water basin 40 cm. in diameter. It is similar to the niche water basins discussed in Chapter 2. Another example of the water basin is found in the northwest corner of

[91] For the plan of Chapel 18, see *Arts of Cappadocia*, 79, and fig. 28; for Çambazlı Kilise: Restle, *Wall Painting*, I, 151, pl. XXXVIII.

[92] A. H. S. Megaw, "Byzantine Architecture and Decoration in Cyprus: Metropolitan or Provincial?," DOP 28 (1974) 72, fig. E.

[93] For brick benches in the narthex of the twelfth-century Hagioi Anargyroi in Kastoria, see Restle, "Kastoria," RBK, I, col. 1190; for rock-cut churches Ayazin, see Haspels, *Phrygia*, II, fig. 581. They are also found in the narthex of the thirteenth-century chapel of St. Saba in Trebizond: Restle, *Wall Painting*, III, pl. LXIXX.

[94] Mouriki, *Nea Moni*, II, figs. 190-191, 193.

[95] This church has not yet been published.

the narthex in the eleventh-century Chapel 17 in Göreme.[96] In thi
the water basin is carefully carved into the pavement of the nor
corner of the narthex. The presence of water basins in these nai
suggests that the holy water was placed in these areas for use
faithful. These examples again show that there were different inte
regarding the function of the narthex. The limited choices in lit
furnishings also suggest the limited use of the narthex in thi:
region.

To sum up, the fragments of furniture surviving *in situ* in na:
point to the fact that the narthex was not fully exploited as it was
architecture of Constantinople, Greece or the Balkans. This is sup
by the fact that many churches had only porches or had ne
narthex nor a porch. In this case, the chapel itself was probably u
functions normally relegated to the narthex or porch. All these asp
the narthex arrangement, furnishing, and orientation sugges
although some were more richly furnished (judging from the exam
the benches or water basins), the majority of the porches and na
were used simply as large porches. The planning and orientatio
often similar. In both cases, only one doorway or arched openi
vided access. Burials are consistently found in porches and narthe
these factors indicate that in many cases the use of the narthex a
porch were interchangeable.

3. Function of Entrance Compartments

Dealing with the function of porches and narthexes, we hav
limited data than when dealing with sanctuaries and naves. A
tioned above, many narthexes and porches were the first to suffe
the erosion of the natural rock from which the churches were
The same is true of their decoration and inscriptions, which i
cases are missing or in a fragmentary state. However, the survivin
rative programs and inscriptions of porches and narthexes pro
with some evidence about their specific meaning and function. F
analysis of the entrance compartments is also an unexplored so
information. Although the narthex and the porch have their own
teristics, they were often substituted for each other in the churche
region, and so we shall treat them together. In general we can dist

[96] *Arts of Cappadocia*, 120, pl. 61.

their functions as 1) utilitarian, 2) aesthetic, 3) devotional, 4) liturgical, and 5) funerary.

Utilitarian and Aesthetic Functions

The portico or simply the narthex door was a striking feature of the church facade, for it marked the entrance into the church. Richly decorated or simply rendered, its presence let everyone recognize the passage into the church. Entrances give a sense of direction and orientation. Passing through the valley of Göreme, Soğanlı, Güllü Dere, and Ihlara, one notices that the preserved facades of porticoes or narthexes immediately help to identify the church. The portico of the basilica of St. John the Baptist in Çavuşın is visible at a distance of about two kilometers.[97] Therefore, the entrances of rock-cut churches were even more significant than in the cities. Visually the hidden rock-cut church could be noticed only by its entrance.

Besides these topographical qualities, entrance compartments in Cappadocian churches have, no doubt, some practical purpose as well. In a hot summer, cold winter, or rainy spring, these covered porticoes provided comfort for everyone, especially after a long journey. One has to remember that the majority of churches were situated at a distance from the local villages and towns.[98] The social and economic connections of monks with the local centers, which will be discussed further in the next chapter, provided circulation of monks and laity between the churches and the local centers. The need to shelter travellers may be a good reason why the portico was widely used in the rock-cut churches of this region.

The architectural, sculptural and painted decoration of the facades speaks for their aesthetic value. Depending on the finances and choice of a donor, the decoration of the entrance compartments differs from one to another. Some churches had monumental facades, often with partial painting, such as the early Christian churches of St. John in Çavuşın, Bazir Khane in Avcılar, and the large Middle Byzantine monastic complexes: the eleventh-century Karanlık and Aynalı monastery churches in Göreme or the tenth- and eleventh-century churches in Selime, and Chapel 22 (Çarıclı Kilise) and Chapel 25 in Göreme, all of the eleventh

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[97] The basilica of St. John, located on the top of a lofty rock, is well visible on the road between the villages of Avcılar and Çavuşın from a distance of about two kilometers. For distant views of the basilica's facade, see Jerphanion, Plates I, 20.

[98] For the church topography, see chapter 5.

century.[99] Side by side with carved architectural facades, there were a number of painted barrel vaulted porches, such as Chapel 5 in Güzelöz, St. Niketa the Stylite in Kızıl Çukur, the Holy Apostles in Mustafapaşa, and many others. Thus, as in the interior, the exterior of the church was often decorated for aesthetic reasons.

These utilitarian and aesthetic characteristics of Cappadocian entrance compartments are shared with the church architecture of Byzantium.[100] This we learn from the scholarly and well-traveled Byzantine writer Leo Allatios. Although he lived in Italy at the end of the sixteenth century, his description of Byzantine church architecture was based on a great knowledge of ancient writers. Allatios left descriptions of several characteristics of entrance compartments which are of great assistance to the present study. He starts with the description of a portico:

> To the Greeks of our day the term signifies nothing but the portico of a church. The part of it certainly that was built in front of the door of secret buildings with variety of posts linked together and covered with tiles. This offers shelter from the discomforts of the heat and sudden showers, agreeable shade and pleasant promenade. Its name comes from since the entrance opens through this portico. Others say that emboli are called either because they are enclosed or because one walks under them, as beneath the street porticos which are to be found everywhere. These will be familiar to everyone.[101]

This description tells us that the Byzantines not only recognized but also valued the utilitarian aspects of a porch. The information on the church portico provided by Allatios confirms other references by early Byzantine writers. Thus Choricius, in his speech on the church of St. Stephen at Gaza (536-548), addressed the aesthetic aspects of the porch in addition to its utilitarian function:

> I suppose it proper that the columns nearest the church should have some preeminence. At this moment the fabric of the colonnades serves a purely aesthetic purpose, but at the other feast of the Martyr, which is celebrated in the winter,

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[99] For St. John in Çavusın see Kostof, *Caves*, pls. 19, 20, and fig. 11; for Bezir Hane see Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, pl. 21; For Chapel 23 (Karanlık Kilise) and Aynalı Kilise see ibid., pls. 42-43, 46-46a; for Selime churches see ibid., pls. 51, 59, 65-66, 71; for Açik Saray see ibid., 117; for Chapel 22 (Çarıclı Kilise) see ibid., pls. 151, 154a.

[100] On the sculptural and painted decoration of the facades of Byzantine churches, see M. A. Orlova, *Naruzhnye rospisi srednevekovykh pamiatnikov arkhitektury: Vizantia, Balkany, Drevniaia Rus'* (Moscow 1990) 3-118.

[101] Allatios, 28.

> they serve to protect visitors from being drenched in the rain should it be falling."[102]

In another passage, he describes the importance of the portico when closed on the sides.

> When you have reached the porch and mounted a great number of steps (the church being built on a prominence), you see a summer retreat which, thanks to a gentle breeze, mitigates the heat of the season. Cooled by light winds, the church is securely defended like a fortress by means of two towers which flank the entrance.[103]

In this passage, Choricius speaks of a Syrian porch which was often protected on the sides by towers according to the style of many Syrian churches. This description gives a better understanding of why the porticoes of rock-cut Cappadocian churches, covered on the sides, were so popular. Syria and Cappadocia are not far from each other and their climates are similar. The climate, on the one hand, and distant location of the churches from the villages and towns, on the other, determined the need for the side walls in the porticoes.

Devotional, Liturgical and Funeral Functions

The devotional, liturgical and funerary functions of the narthex and the porch were connected to the daily rites and devotional needs of the monks and laity. For every Christian in Byzantium, the porch or narthex was the first place where he prayed before entering the church, as is still the case in the Orthodox church today. As cited above, the Greek writer Allatios referred to this tradition and even quoted the eleventh-century Byzantine writer Niketas Choniates: "Enter. You are now in the pronaos. As Niketas Choniates says: 'There in the vestibule of the temple whatsoever monk that enters prostrates himself and extends his neck to be trodden upon.'"[104] Concerning Cappadocia, the devotional significance of the narthex and the porch can be interpreted by an examination of the decoration and inscriptions.

Decorative programs of the porches and narthexes demonstrate that devotional images occupy one of the most important places. The choice of image, however, is different in each church. Among the variety of images depicted on the walls and ceilings of the entrance compartments,

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[102] Mango, *Art*, 69.

[103] Mango *Art*, 68.

[104] Allatios, 7.

several iconographic subjects predominate: the cross, the Virgin Mary and the Christ Child, scenes of the Pentecost or the Ascension. These images were often combined with figures of saints, martyrs and archangels. Other images are also found.

The use of devotional images for the decoration of Cappadocian entrance compartments was similar to the practice in other Byzantine churches. In both cases, the idea of devotion and divine contemplation before entering the church was grounded in Orthodox piety and the veneration of the icons. In the ninth-century *Vita Basilii* there is a description of the Constantinopolitan church of the Mother of God and St. Nicholas, in which the writer explains the meaning of the images of the north portico: "As you go out the northern door of the church, you encounter a long barrel-vaulted portico whose ceiling is adorned with paintings representing the feasts and struggles of the martyrs, thereby both pleasing the eye and rousing the spirit to a divine and blessed love."[105] Unfortunately, many Byzantine churches have lost their porticoes as well as their painted decoration. Several churches in Kastoria, such as the twelfth-century Hagioi Anargyroi have, however, preserved the painted images on their facades.[106] This suggests that even churches without porticoes had devotional images on the wall near the entrance.

Aside from the devotional significance of the holy images in the porches and narthexes, these icons also functioned as the protectors of the church. Allatios tells us:

> In the cities and places that men frequent, guards kept fortifications joined, where possible, to the nearest wall of the dwellings. You will see how different is the wall of the church made for the image of Christ, the Blessed Virgin, some saint or another — usually the patron saint of the church — painted above the door but also in the niches, in the hollows of the walls, in every part of the structure. These icons are usually in higher parts of the building but sometimes they are attached to marble columns. Here is protection from airy creatures and other harm.[107]

The surviving inscriptions, invocations and graffiti in the porches and narthexes of Cappadocian churches convey to the modern viewer the Byzantine attitude toward images and their importance at the church entrance. Making their prayers and invocations at the end of the entrance of the church apparently allowed the monks and laity to make

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[105] Mango, *Art*, 195.

[106] Pelekanides, Chatzidakis, *Kastoria*, 84, fig. 3.

[107] Allatios, 4.

their presence known. They commonly addressed their prayers to the church's intercessors.

One of the most widely-used images for decoration of the porch or narthex was a cross either carved in relief or painted. In several churches litanies, invocations, and prayers from the liturgy are inscribed near the cross. In Chapel 2 in Zelve, in the small porch just above the door leading into the church, there is a red painted cross and an inscription on each side.[108] To the left of the cross is a liturgical litany dedicated to the cross, to the right, the text of Psalm 117: "O praise the Lord, all ye nations; praise him, all ye people."[109] Jerphanion, who published these inscriptions, noted that this particular inscription is frequent on the lintels above the door of Syrian churches.[110] This is a valuable comparison, showing that Cappadocian entrance compartments shared their symbolism with those of Syria. Another example is the cruciform porch of the church of St. Barbara (ca. 1006) in Soğanlı. A small cruciform room is crowned with a dome decorated with an image of a cross, on the four sides of which are three letters; the fourth one is missing (ill. 64).[111] Jerphanion reconstructed the formula which can be translated as follows: "The beginning of the belief of Moses is the Cross."[112] According to him, similar invocation to the cross is also found in the decorative brickwork in the church of Porta Panagia near Trikkala in Thessaly.[113] The inclusion of these inscriptions emphasizes the symbolic significance of the image of the cross at the church entrance in this region. Discussing the role of the cross as a symbol of Christ and the salvation of men, John Chrysostom talks about the importance of this symbol in daily life:

> Let no man therefore be ashamed of the honored symbols of our salvation, and of the chiefest of all good things, whereby we even live, and whereby we are; but as a crown, so let us bear about the cross of Christ. Yea, for by it all things are wrought, that are wrought among us. Whether one is to be new born, the cross is there; or to be nourished with that mystical food, or to be ordained, or to do anything else everywhere our symbol of victory is present. Therefore both on house, and walls, and windows, and upon our forehead, and upon our mind, we inscribe

[108] Jerphanion, I, 582-583.

[109] Ibid.

[110] Jerphanion, ibid., 583.

[111] Jerphanion, II, 312.

[112] Ibid.

[113] Jerphanion, II, 312 and note 1.

it with much care. For the salvation wrought for us, and of our common freedom, and of the goodness of our Lord this is the sign.[114]

Several church entrances are decorated with the image of the Virgin. In the porch of Chapel 4 in Zelve there is a Virgin and Child enthroned painted above the doorway.[115] This fresco is dated to the early tenth century. The image of the Virgin is flanked by the two figures of the Archangels Michael and Gabriel. On both sides of the Virgin there is an inscription: on the left — "Theotokos, protect your servant Iulitus."[116] The text to the right is somewhat difficult to interpret. Both texts, though, are invocations by donors to the Virgin, the protector and intercessor situated at the church entrance. In the cruciform porch of St. Barbara Kilise in Soğanlı, there is also an image of the Virgin Mary and Christ Child placed above the entrance door.[117] To the left of the Virgin there are preserved four lines of a fragmentary text which Jerphanion thought might be liturgical.[118] Similarly, an image of the Virgin Mary and the Christ Child occupies the place above the entrance of the Kılıçlar Kilise (ca. 900) in Göreme.[119] There are traces of inscriptions still visible. Although it is difficult to reconstruct the original text, it is possible to suppose that its general content is similar to that of the inscriptions previously discussed. A similar location of this iconographic theme above the doorway to the church, as well as the similar meaning of the image — whether it be the Virgin or the Christ Child — as protector and intercessor for the faithful, can be seen in these examples. One more case is in the lunette above the south entrance of Chapel 4 (Ayvalı Kilise) in Güllü Dere.[120] These paintings constitute the earliest surviving images of the Virgin and Christ Child in Byzantine monumental decoration. Most of the exterior decoration of Byzantine churches is gone, but some parallels to these Cappadocian devotional instances can also be observed elsewhere in Byzantium. One is in the lunette above the door in the narthex in the

[114] *The Homilies of St. John Chrysostom, Archibishop of Constantinople, on the Gospel of Matthew*, tr. G. Prevost, in *A Selected Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, vol. 10, ed. A. Schaff (Michigan, reprinted 1975) 332-338.

[115] Jerphanion, I, 587.

[116] Ibid.

[117] Jerphanion, II, 312.

[118] Ibid.

[119] For the representation of the Virgin Mary and the Christ Child above the entrance door in Kılıçlar Kilise: Jerphanion, I, 200 and Plates I, pl. 54 (4).

[120] Thierry and Thierry, "Ayvalı Kilise," 98-154, fig. 1.

church at Boyana, in Bulgaria (ca. 1259).[121] Another example comes from Cyprus from the church of the Virgin Phorbiotissa (ca. 1105/6) at Asinou.[122] The painting in the narthex dates to ca. 1332/3. In the narthex and above the door entrance there is an image of the Virgin Vlachernitissa with a medallion enclosing the image of the Christ Child. The portrait of a donor and a donor's inscription is also included. Although this image is late, it probably replaced an earlier image in this church.

In addition to the iconographic themes discussed above, the scene of Pentecost has important meaning for the decoration of the Cappadocian porch and narthex. It appeared in the vault of the narthexes in the early tenth-century Old Tokalı Kilise, the middle tenth-century Pigeon House in Çavuşın, and the porch of the early tenth-century Holy Apostles in Mustafapaşa (ill. 66),[123] churches constructed and planned more or less within the same period of time. Fortunately, the scene of Pentecost in the church of the Holy Apostles is accompanied by an inscription from a poem of Gregory Nazianzus.[124] The general idea of the poem is the significance of the name of Christ. This poem also includes a prayer addressed to Christ for the unity of monastic life. The images of the apostles, united by the strokes of fire in the scene of the Pentecost, are a visual manifestation of the message of the Gregory Nazianzus poem. Repetition of this scene in all three churches suggests a similar meaning.

The narthex and the porch were also associated as places for burial. Because burials were found in various parts of the Cappadocian church building, their location and use in the narthexes will be discussed separately in the next chapter.[125] It is, however, necessary to emphasize here that porches and narthexes were used for burials from Early and throughout Middle Byzantine times.[126] Numerous graves, funerary epi-

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[121] K. Miiatev, *Rospis' Boianskoi Tserkvi* (Sophia 1961) 5-23, fig. 39.

[122] A and J. Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus* (London 1985) 114-156, esp. 134.

[123] For Old Tokalı, see Restle, *Wall Painting*, II, pl. X (DXXI); for the Pigeon House in Çavuşın, Jerphanion, I, 521-522, and Plates II, 139 (3); for the Holy Apostles, see Jerphanion, ibid., II, 60-63; Restle, *Wall Painting*, III, pl. XL (DXXI) and ill. 404. In his article Anthony Cutler argued, on the other hand, that the Pentecost in Tokalı and the Holy Apostles can also be interpreted as the Last Judgement: see Anthony Cutler, "Apostolic Monasticism at Tokalı Kilise in Cappadocia," AS XXXV (1985) 57-65, pls. VI, VII.

[124] Jerphanion, II, 60-63.

[125] See chapter 4, below, and also Teteriatnikov, "Burial Places," 141-157.

[126] Teteriatnikov, ibid., 143-148.

taphs, graffiti and invocations as well as donor portraits testify to the funeral function of the entrance compartments. These burials were reserved for both monks and laity. The presence of actual tombs in these entrance compartments required commemorative services and funerals. This custom of the Cappadocian churches was shared with other churches of Byzantium.[127] In many Byzantine church buildings, burials were located at the church entrances as well. Allatios' reference concerning this custom is worth noting. Among the various functional aspects of the Byzantine narthex, he states: "In this spot, too, the bodies of the dead are placed while rites are performed for them before they are committed to burials."[128] Unfortunately, our information about narthexes and porches is limited to the above-mentioned sources. There is little doubt, though, that they had other function, as well. From previous studies of Byzantine narthexes, it is known that they were used during various parts of the liturgy as a place for penitents, women and catechumens.[129] With respect to women, special doors were assigned to them in the early Christian churches of Constantinople.[130] This social restriction for the use of the narthex in large urban centers, such as Constantinople, certainly was reflected in the plan. Thus it was common for Constantinopolitan churches to have three doors in the narthex, providing separated circulation of the crowds into the naos. In dealing with the provincial architecture of Cappadocia, matters are more complicated. What seems to distinguish Cappadocian entrances is the predominant use of only one door. There are churches with two or three entrances, but they are rare. The practice of using one doorway into the church suggests that the clergy, monks and laity, including women, had to enter the church through the single door.

In the chapter on the social structure of Cappadocian communities, evidence is provided for women as a part of the laity. It appears that the clergy and monks entered the church first and then were followed by the laity. As to whether the women stood in the narthex or porch during the liturgy, it seems difficult to find a single answer. First of all, it has to be considered that there are a great number of churches with neither narthexes nor porches. This means that all of the faithful would have stood in the nave. In regard to porches, there is a great variety of

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[127] Ibid.

[128] Allatios, 7.

[129] Taft, *The Great Entrance*, 199-200.

[130] Taft, ibid.; Strube, *Westliche Eingangsseite*, 92, and note p. 370.

arrangements and sizes, so that it seems doubtful that during a cold winter or rainy spring the women and children would stand in the open porch. Some porches were even so small that there would not have been enough space to include the parishioners. In any case, because of the variety of plans and size of the narthexes and porches, their use seems to have differed from one church to another. Most likely, various communities and even single dwellings had their own regulations. Although not complete, our examination of the porches and narthexes allows for several conclusions.

First of all, the distinguishing feature of Cappadocian architecture is that it shows a great flexibility in the use of porches and narthexes. Cappadocia is also one of the Byzantine provinces that demonstrates the richest variety of porch and narthex types. Moreover, porches were used side by side with narthexes and often substituted for the latter. The evolution of the entrance compartments shows that the porch was a predominant feature in the early Christian period, whereas by Middle Byzantine times there were some modifications and transformations in its use. Secondly, Cappadocian entrance compartments generally have only one doorway or entrance, a fact that certainly reflects the difference in social stratification and the regulations governing society between the rural community and that of the capital. It is possible that a single entrance reflects certain tradition in the area when the monastic churches were entered primarily by the monks and clergy. According to the surviving Byzantine monastic rules, the entrance by women was prohibited in male monasteries.[131] Thirdly, the utilitarian, aesthetic, devotional, liturgical and funerary aspects of the narthex and the porch were common in other churches in Byzantium as well. Finally, the flexibility in architectural planning, size, and type of narthex and porch in

[131] J. L. van Dieten, "Abaton," *Reallexikon der Byzantinistik*, A, I, 2 (1969), 49-84. The early fourteenth-century *typikon* of the monastery of St. John Prodromos near Serres prohibited admition of women to the monastery: M. Jugie, ed., "Le typicon du monastère du Prodrome au Mont Ménecé, près de Serrès," Byz 12 (1937), 25-69, esp. 51. For the eleventh-century typikon of the Evergetis monastery, see P. Gautier, ed., "Le typikon de la Théotokos Évergétis," REB 40 (1982), 5101, esp. 39, p. 83. The mid-twelfth-century typikon of the monastery of the Virgin at Kosmosoteira in Thrace allows women into the church three times a year (the Nativity, the Annunciation, and the Dormition): L. Petit, ed., "Typikon du monastère de la Kosmosotira près d'Aenos (1152)," *Bulletin de l'Institute Archeologique Russe à Constantinople* 13 (1908) 17-75, esp. 84, pp. 60-61. For the admission of women for burials in the Pantocrator monastery in Constantinople, see P. Gautier, ed., "Le typikon du Christ Saveur Pantocrator," REB 32 (1974), 61.

these areas suggests that there were no standard formulae regarding the use of these entrance compartments, and that many of the aspects of their function were dictated by the individual needs of a monastery, a single dwelling or a parish church.

CHAPTER IV

Burial Places

The considerable number of burials in the rock-cut churches of Cappadocia and the diversity of their architectural arrangements attest to their significance in the design and function of the churches in this area. Although archeologists have often noted the occurrence of graves in churches, the relevance of these burial sites in the development of Byzantine architecture has not been thoroughly investigated. Ćurčić discussed the medieval royal tombs in the Balkans, and C. Snively brought to light a group of cemetery churches in eastern Illyricum.[1] The Cappadocian material offers us an opportunity to study the architectural setting of burials in one area over a long period, from Early Christian times to the thirteenth century. At the same time, the burials provide important evidence for an understanding of the various roles of clergy, monks and laity in these communities.

It is my intention here to examine the place of burials in Cappadocian churches from the Early through the Middle Byzantine period and outline the development of this local tradition. In presenting this subject I would like to focus on three aspects of the material: (1) the architectural evolution of the burial sites; (2) their function in church architecture, and their liturgical significance; (3) a survey of those for whom these tombs were designed.

1. The Architectural Evolution of Burial Sites

Unfortunately, no systematic archeological surveys of grave sites in Cappadocian churches exist. The tombs have been vandalized, and thus much valuable evidence is missing. In many cases rock erosion has taken a considerable toll of the arcosolia and the funeral chambers, making it difficult to judge their original date. All this necessarily limits our study

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[1] A summary of this chapter, entitled "The Burial Place in Cappadocian Churches," has been published in *Ninth BSC Abstracts* (Durham 1983) 60-61. A fuller version has appeared as an article: Teteriatnikov, "Burial Places," 141-157. See also C. S. Snively, "Cemetery Churches of the Early Byzantine Period in Eastern Illiricum: Locations and Martyrs," GOTR 29/2 (1984) 117-124; Ćurčić, "Tombs," 175-194.

to a small group of churches, where the architectural details, inscriptions, and painted decorations have survived and can aid in clarifying the date of their execution. Nevertheless, the information which is available on various periods of Cappadocian church architecture gives us an opportunity to examine the developments of various arrangements of tombs in churches of this area over a long period of time. Our analysis will be based on examples of certain basic types, and will consider their location within the churches.

Art historians have established a general typology of Cappadocian church planning which distinguishes the following types: the basilica, single-, double- or triple-nave plan.[2] Burial sites may occur in conjunction with any of these plans, in the porch, narthex or nave of a church, or in annexed funeral chambers, chapels or parekklesia.

Three distinct modes of burials may be distinguished in Cappadocia: the arcosolium, the burial chamber, and pavement burials. All three modes develop naturally from earlier Roman funeral architecture of the region, particularly rock-cut tombs. Although private masonry-built chambers are frequently found in the funeral architecture of both East and West, rock-cut tombs were common in the Eastern provinces. They were often used for family burials in Anatolia from Hellenistic times on.[3] Roman tombs have also been found in various parts of Cappadocia, where Christian churches were later located, at places such as Maziköy, Macan, Azugüzel, Mavrucan, Enegilköy, Arabsun in the environs of Yarhisar, Zanzama and Avanos.[4] Thierry brought these tombs to our attention; however, she overlooked the importance of Roman tombs as the source for local Christian burial architecture.[5]

Cappadocian rock-cut tombs of the Roman period share certain features with the funeral architecture of the neighboring regions of Anatolia and Syria. Examples of fourth-and fifth-century rock-cut tombs can be

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[2] Jerphanion, II, 401-412; *Arts of Cappadocia*, 86-102; Restle, "Kappadokien," cols. 980-1069; Ötüken, "Zweischiffige Kirchen," 543-552.

[3] For Phrygian rock-cut tombs in Asia Minor: Haspels, *Phrygia*, I, 128-129, 135, 164-166, 178, 205-224; for rock-cut tombs of Lycia and Caria, cf. E. Akurgal, *Die Kunst Anatoliens von Homer bis Alexander* (Berlin 1961) IV, 77-85 and 110-112; G. Perrot, C. Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité* (Paris 1882-1914) V, 105-145, 172-186, 196-215, 361-384.

[4] Thierry, "Un problème de continuité," 98-138, 108-113, figs. 4 and 6-14, 29-30, with a bibliography on Roman tombs in Cappadocia; eadem, "Materiaux nouveaux," 315-317, 356, 357, and figs. 18, 19; *Arts of Cappadocia*, 85, 86, ph. 34.

[5] Thierry, "Un problème de continuité," 98-138, figs. 4 and 6-14, 29, 30; eadem, "Meteriaux nouveaux," 315-317.

found in Phrygia, in Ephesus, or in Midjleyyā in Syria.[6] Their layout, including barrel-vaulted chambers with arcosolia and graves in the pavement, indicates that Early Christian communities in these areas adopted the local Roman tradition of private rock-cut tombs.

Although private Early Christian tombs have not yet been discovered in Cappadocia (or may not yet have been properly identified), the use of arcosolia, burial chambers and graves in the pavement in the Early Christian churches of this area points to a common origin. It is precisely this mode of burial which was later incorporated into the church porches, narthexes, naves, funeral chapels or parekklesia.

Burials in the Porch or Narthex

It is in church porches and narthexes that one first encounters the three modes of burial: arcosolia, burial chambers and pavement graves. In the case of Cappadocia, it seems appropriate to discuss porches and narthexes together, since they are often interchangeable. Some churches in this area have no narthex and might be preceded by a porch; often the porches are reduced to the size of a small barrel-vaulted passageway. Porches are usually provided with large open archways, whereas narthexes have small door openings. Although the layout of the narthexes and porches can vary, their burial arrangements and functions are similar.

Scholars have linked the development of the narthex in Middle and Late Byzantine architecture with commemorative services for the dead. Ćurčić has discussed the twin-domed narthex of late Balkan architecture, while Athanase Papageorgiou has discussed the Middle Byzantine narthex in the churches of Cyprus.[7] Both articles deal, however, only with the formal architectural development of the narthex, without giving consideration to the actual burial sites and their use in early Christian architecture in Byzantium.

Both porch and narthex in Cappadocian churches and elsewhere in Byzantium have been used to house burials as far back as Early Christian times. Moreover, we can trace this development even to the burial arrangements in the porches of Roman rock-cut tombs. In fact, it is in

[6] For examples of rock-cut Christian tombs in Phrygia, cf. Haspels, *Phrygia*, I, 205-224; for the tomb in Ephesus, see C. Praschniker, ed., *Das Cömeterium der sieben Schläfer* (Baden 1937) 49, fig. 49, 75, fig. 74, 83, fig. 96; for the tomb in Mijleyyā, Butler, *Architecture*, 105.

[7] Ćurčić, "Narthex," 333-344; Papageorgiou, "Narthex," 437-448.

Roman rock-cut tombs, such as that in Gerdek Kaya in Phrygia, that we can find close parallels for the arcosolia in the side walls of the porches and narthexes of early Cappadocian churches (pl. 15).[8]

Chapel 2a in Avcılar has been called a mortuary chapel because of the large number of graves set into the pavement of its porch and nave (pl. 16, ills. 61, 69).[9] The porch adjoins the north wall of this single-nave church and can be entered through a large horseshoe-shaped arch. Certain architectural features of this church provide us with evidence for its dating. The modeling of its exterior arch and the design of the interior doorframe of the porch are very similar to the doorframe of the Durmuş Kadir basilica, located five hundred meters west of the same village. Thierry attributes the Durmuş Kadir basilica to about the sixth century, and we may assume the mortuary chapel in Avcılar to be of the same period.[10] Although the two arcosolia in the porch of the chapel in Avcılar are left without any trace of moulding, their large size and proportions and the rectangular shape of the graves are also very similar to those found in the narthex of the Durmuş Kadir basilica. This type of vast rectangular grave, carefully narrowed at the bottom, can be also found in the funeral chamber of the sixth-century rock-cut monastery in Mydie in Thrace, the funeral chapel of the sixth-century rock-cut monastery in Vize, located in the same province, as well as in the Early Christian cemetary of St. Onouphrios in Modon, in Greece.[11] Such an arrangement of arcosolia in the side wall of the porch, with graves in its pavement, was very common in Early Christian churches.

The Durmuş Kadir basilica has a rather complex arrangement of tombs in its barrel-vaulted narthex (pl. 3, ill. 70).[12] The burials comprise several arcosolia, a podium and a burial chamber. One arcosolium is cut into the center of the western wall. Another occupies the center of its south wall, and next to it there is a small arcosolium (sixty-five cm. long) made for an infant. In front of these two latter arcosolia, near the south wall, is a large podium about one meter high; in fact the arcosolia can

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[8] For the Roman tomb in Gerdeak Kaya, cf. Haspels, *Phrygia*, I, 192; II, ills. 85-88, and 547.

[9] This church has not been studied. It is mentioned in the list of churches in the area of Avcılar: *Arts of Cappadocia*, 202; Teteriatnikov, *Burial Places*, 144, fig. 2.

[10] Thierry, *Monuments*, 13; eadem, "Un problème de continuité," 134; eadem, "Quelques monuments," 10-11; *Arts of Cappadocia*, 94, 95, and fig. 49.

[11] Eyice, "Trakya," 30, 31, fig. 17; Eyice and Thierry, "Le monastère," figs. 1, 21 and 22; Pallas, *Les monuments*, 192-194, fig. 133.

[12] See chapter 1, note 17.

only be reached by means of this podium. The podium itself contains three graves, one of which is small and was probably made for a child. The podium also provided access to a barrel-vaulted burial chamber located in the western wall, in front of the podium. This tunnel-like chamber, derived ultimately from Roman tomb structure, contains three graves in its pavement, plus an arcosolium with two graves in it, built into its north wall. Significantly the three-step cornice of the narthex runs consistently along the interior wall of this small chamber. This indicates that the burial chamber as well as the podium are contemporary with the construction of the narthex. This complexity in the planning of the burials in the narthex was made possible by the local techniques of rock-cutting which made it relatively easy to carve out various types of tombs.

Although the poor condition of the burial sites in other early churches in this region forces us to limit our discussion to these two examples, the arrangements of these burials are not accidental, or merely local, as parallels can be found in the narthexes of churches of the same period in other regions of the Byzantine Empire. Excavations have uncovered a number of masonry-built graves in the narthex of a fifth-century basilica at Stobi, and in other early churches of the Balkan peninsula.[13] A group of tombs is found in the narthex of a chapel of the sixth century in the rock-cut monastery at Vize in Thrace.[14] There is a rock-cut chamber attached to the narthex in the sixth-century monastery at Mydie in Thrace.[15] Burials are also recorded in several narthexes in Early Christian churches of Greece.[16] Although we do not have complete excavation records, it seems likely that burial in the narthex was a common practice in Early Christian times in other Byzantine provinces as well. The Middle Byzantine churches of Cappadocia merely continue this venerable tradition.

Although several churches in Cappadocia have been assigned to the seventh and eighth centuries by Thierry, we still do not have sufficient evidence to date them precisely.[17] Churches from the ninth century on

[13] R. F. Hoddinott, *Early Byzantine Churches in Macedonia* 167, and figs. 44, 71, 77.

[14] Eyice, "Trakya," fig. 17c.

[15] Eyice and Thierry, "Le monastère," figs. 1, 21 and 22.

[16] For an example in the cemetery basilica in Corinth, cf. Pallas, *Les Monuments*, 160 and fig. 110.

[17] See Thierry's recent article and her bibliography on Iconoclast churches in Cappadocia, "L'iconoclasme en Cappadoce," 389-403; cf. Restle, "Kappadokien," cols. 1077-1079.

can be more securely dated. These churches reveal that the early modes of burial survived and that tombs continued to be placed in both porch and narthex.

Arcosolia frequently appear in the side walls of Middle Byzantine porches and narthexes, as had been the case in the early Christian period. Chapel 4 in Zelve is an interesting example. This can be dated to about the sixth century, but an arcosolium in the south wall of its small tunnel-like porch was added in the early tenth century.[18] Fortunately, a square tympanum above the arcosolium arch is preserved (ill. 71). This tympanum has remains of a plaster decoration belonging with the painting of the porch. Jerphanion associated this painting with that in Kılıçlar Kilise in Göreme (ca. A.D. 900) on the basis of its iconography.[19] Since there are traces of an inscription above the arcosolium, we can assume that the arcosolium was added to the south wall shortly before the porch was painted. Carving an arcosolium into the thickness of the side wall of a porch or a narthex is a practical expedient, since it occupies little space, and leaves the small porch or narthex fully accessible. Similar arcosolia can be seen in the small domed porch of the church of St. Barbara (ca. A.D. 1006) in Soğanlı and in the eleventh-century Yılanlı Kilise in Göreme, and in many others.[20] A narthex could accomodate more arcosolia than could a porch. In the eleventh-century Chapel 27 in Göreme, arcosolia are found in both the western and eastern walls.[21] Arcosolia can also be found in the walls of the narthexes in a number of other eleventh-century churches, such as chapels 18, 21, 21a, 21c, 27 in Göreme and others.[22]

During the Middle Byzantine period the narthex could also be provided with burial chambers. An early example of such a chamber is found in the ninth-century church of Joachim and Anna in Kızıl Çukur

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[18] In my opinion this church can be dated around the sixth century. The apse of the south nave of this church has three blind niches with carved crosses similar to the apse of the sixth-century church of the rock-cut monastery at Vize in Thrace. This apse design is not found among the Middle Byzantine churches in Cappadocia. For an illustration of Chapel 4: *Arts of Cappadocia*, ph. 37; for the church at Vize: Eyice, "Trakya," fig. 10. Thierry attributed this church to the Iconoclast period on the basis of its decoration of crosses ("Monuments," 58, 59, fig. 7). The same attribution was made by Jerphanion, II, 412.

[19] Jerphanion, I, 586-587.

[20] Restle, *Wall Painting*, III, pl. XLVI. The porch of Yılanlı Kilise in Göreme has not been included in the published plan.

[21] *Arts of Cappadocia*, 79 and fig. 28.

[22] Ibid.; Jerphanion, Plates I, 27, 28; II, 21; Restle, *Wall Painting*, I, 127.

(pl. 14).[23] The narthex of this double-nave church has a small burial chamber attached to its western wall. The chamber can be entered through a small doorway, and evidently belongs to the original design of the church, since the doorway is incorporated into the ninth-century fresco decoration of the narthex. This chamber is very small in size, just large enough for two pavement graves.

Burial chambers, like arcosolia, can be found in different areas of the porch or narthex. In the underground chapel of the early tenth-century Old Tokalı Kilise in Göreme, a small square chamber is attached to the south wall of the porch (pl. 9).[24] In the eleventh-century churches of Tokalı Kilise in Soğanlı and Pürenli Seki Kilise in Ihlara, the chambers are located behind the south wall of their narthexes.[25] These chambers are all placed on the same level as the floor of the narthex.

There is still another type, also derived from Roman tombs: a barrel-vaulted, tunnel-like chamber, which is elevated sometimes as much as a meter above the floor level. These chambers are very similar to the ones we observed in the narthex of the early Durmuş Kadir basilica. Examples of these can be found in churches of the eleventh century, such as Karanlık Kilise in Göreme, or Tokalı Kilise in Soğanlı, and others.[26] Both types of chambers, with minor variations, were carried over into the Middle Byzantine narthex from Early Christian models.

The Middle Byzantine narthex is distinguished from the early examples by the striking density of its graves, which gives the entire narthex the appearance of a graveyard. Graves cut into the pavement of tenth- or eleventh-century churches are different in shape from earlier ones. Unlike the spacious rectangular graves characteristic of the early period, Middle Byzantine graves are rather small, and too narrow to allow the insertion of a coffin. The heads were often directed toward the entrance

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[23] Epstein, "The 'Iconoclast' Churches," 103; Restle, *Wall Painting*, III, For bibliography on this church cf. her note 6. See also Teteriatnikov, "The Frescoes of the Chapel of St. Basil," 99-144.

[24] On the dating of the underground chapel in the Old Tokalı: Epstein, *The Date and Context*, 60, 61; she presented further evidence for the dating in her recent monograph *Tokalı Kilise*, 6 and ills. 3a, 6, 9. For the plan: Teteriatnikov, "Burial Places," fig. 8.

[25] For Tokalı Kilise, see Epstein, *Tokalı*, for Pürenli Kilise, see Restle, *Wall Painting*, III, pl. LIV.

[26] For Tokalı Kilise, see Restle, ibid., II, XXII. The plan of Tokalı Kilise in Soğanlı is not published.

to the church, since Cappadocian narthexes are not always situated to the west of the nave.

A good example of such a "graveyard" in a rectangular narthex is the late eleventh-century church of St. Daniel in Göreme (pl. 17).[27] The narthex of this small, barrel-vaulted, single-nave church lies along the north side of the church. Nine graves are found in the narthex: there are arcosolia in the west, north and south walls, and six others cut into the pavement. Among them there are four small graves which were probably reserved for children. The shape of all these graves is typical of the eleventh century. Their orientation differs — some face the east, others the entrance to the church — in order that more graves could be fitted in. Other than these characteristic features, there is little which allows us to date their time of execution. Some additional information can be learned from the paintings and inscriptions surviving in the nave. On the south wall of the nave there is an image of a woman, Eudocia, between two large fresco icons of St. Basil and St. Daniel. The epitaph inscribed alongside her likeness reads, "The servant of God, Eudocia, has fallen asleep."[28] This portrait of Eudocia, incorporated into the church decoration, suggests that she was a donor; her grave was possibly located in the narthex as there are no graves in the church nave. The presence of the graves of the four children may indicate that an entire family was buried here. Moreover, Jerphanion recorded eight invocations inscribed near the votive icons; among them he identified those of two soldiers and one priest.[29] At any rate, the graves can be dated to the time of the carving of the church, i.e., the eleventh century. Similar "graveyard"-narthexes can be found in a number of other churches, such as the tenth-century church of St. Eustathius and the eleventh-century chapels 18, 21a-21c and 27 in Göreme, or the tenth-century church of St. Simeon in Zelve.[30] The collapsed narthex of the Pigeon House in Çavuşın (963-969) preserves a similar "graveyard"-narthex.[31]

The use of the narthex for burials in Middle Byzantine Cappadocian churches is paralleled in Constantinople, Greece, and the Balkans. Cap-

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[27] Jerphanion, II, 171-176, and Plates II, fig. 39. For the dating of this church: Epstein, "Rock-cut Chapels," 115-121, esp. 117, and fig. 43.

[28] Jerphanion, I, 173, 174.

[29] Jerphanion, I, 174-176.

[30] *Arts of Cappadocia*, 79 and figs. 27, 28; For St. Symeon, see Jerphanion, Plates I, pl. 27.

[31] Jerphanion, Plates II, 136.

padocian narthexes are distinguished by the greater density and variety of their burials.

Burials in the Nave

Burials in the nave are less widespread than burials in the narthex or in the annexed funerary chapels, but individual graves do occur in the nave, both in arcosolia and in the church pavement itself. One of the early examples of the former is found in the north wall of Chapel 6 in Zelve. This is a small single-nave chapel with a flat ceiling decorated with a huge carved cross. Thierry attributed it to the Iconoclast period, but the groove-like molding that frames the arcosolium, the apse and the prothesis niche is commonly found in fifth- and sixth-century monuments in Asia Minor.[32] No molding of this type can be found in Middle Byzantine Cappadocian churches. Hence this arcosolium must belong to the original church.

Arcosolia can be easily adapted to a variety of church plans. For example, in the inscribed cross plan of Chapel 1 in Balkan Dere, arcosolia are found on both sides of the western arm of the cross (ill. 72). This church has been attributed to the pre-Iconoclast period.[33] The tooth-like molding of the cornice of this chapel resembles one in a sixth-century domed hall fifty meters west of the church.[34] Thus this chapel and the domed hall may have been constructed at about the same time. The arcosolia seem to belong to the original design of this chapel, placed as they are symmetrically on either side of the western arm of this church. Unfortunately, no trace remains here of the original decoration, such as survives in the eastern arm of the cross and in the dome, but when Jerphanion visited this church in the first decade of this century, he noticed the existence of painting on all the walls of the church. He

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[32] Thierry attributed this church to the Iconoclast period on the basis of carved crosses on its walls and ceiling: "L'iconoclasme en Cappadoce," 398 and fig. 6. For the types of groove-like mouldings, cf. Haspels, *Phrygia*, II, fig. 338. A similar moulding is found in the sixth-century Domed Hall in Balkan Dere in Cappadocia. Cf. N. Teteriatnikov, "Early Churches."

[33] Thierry, "Peintures paléochrétiennes," 53-59. The same attribution is made by Kostof, *Caves*, 262, n. 1. Epstein dated it to the end of the ninth century: "The 'Iconoclast' Churches," 103-111. Cf. Jerphanion, II, 50-56.

[34] *Arts of Cappadocia*, 200-201, plan # 3, 199, ph. 73. This building has not yet been studied. However, its cornice, which is decorated with palms and crosses, is very similar to that in the sixth-century Ak Kilise in Soğanlı. For Ak Kilise cf. Restle, *Studien*, 24, 25, 171, with bibliography on this church.

pointed out that this mortuary chapel was decorated with scenes of the burial of St. Basil and of the martyrdom of St. Peter, among others.[35] These burial subjects were probably chosen to commemorate the tombs in the church nave.

The use of arcosolia in the side walls of the nave was common in the Early Christian churches of Byzantium and the Christian East. An Armenian chapel, Aghts, has large arcosolia, occupying the entire north and south walls.[36] Similarly, there are arcosolia in the side wall of the sixth-century chapel at Mydie and in the rock-cut chapel in Vize, both in Thrace.[37]

Middle Byzantine churches in Cappadocia continued to use arcosolia in their naves for burials. The early tenth-century chapel excavated under Old Tokalı Kilise is an interesting example of this tradition (ill. 73).[38] This small basilica-type chapel has three independent sanctuaries linked by a narrow transverse corridor. In the north wall of this chapel are symmetrically carved two deep arcosolia, similar to those in Chapel 1 in Balkan Dere. The carefully planned arcosolia on this side wall suggest that this church was originally designed as the funerary chapel of Old Tokalı. Whether planned along with the core of the church, or added later, arcosolia appear in a number of chapels in this area, for example Chapel 18 in Göreme, Çanavar and Karabaş Kilise in Soğanlı, and Eski Gümüş in Niğde, all of the eleventh-century, and St. George in Belisirma of the thirteenth century.[39]

Burial chambers are also attached to the naves of some churches, although this is a far less frequent solution than the building of arcosolia or the placing of graves in the pavement. While we have no early examples of burial chambers attached to the naves of Cappadocian churches, it is obvious that those in the Middle Byzantine period are based on the existence of an earlier tradition. Funerary chambers attached to the nave were widespread in the Early Christian church architecture of the West, of Greece, of Asia Minor and of Syria.[40] The Middle Byzantine churches

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[35] Jerphanion, II, 50-56.

[36] Tokarskii, *Po stranitsam armianskoi istorii*, 59 and fig. 7.

[37] Eyice, "Trakya," fig. 10.

[38] For the dating of this chapel cf. note 24, above.

[39] For Chapel 18, see *Arts of Cappadocia*, 79 and fig. 28; for Çanavar Kilise and Karabaş, see Restle, *Wall Painting*, III, ill. 4 pls. XLVIII, XLIX; for Eski Gümüş, see ibid., I, plan p. 180.

[40] For S. Clemente in Rome: R. Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicorum Christianorum Romae* I (Rome 1937) fig. 18; for the cathedral in Brâd in Syria: Lassus, *Sanctuaires*,

of Cappadocia have chambers as do the early churches, attached to various parts of the nave wall. In the eleventh-century chapel of Chapel 33 (Meryemana) in Göreme, a subsidiary funeral chamber is located behind its western wall.[41] In the eleventh-century Yılanlı Kilise in Göreme and in the ninth-century Chapel 2 in Avcılar (Maçan), chambers were attached to the south walls.[42]

On the whole, when burials were made in the church nave, arcosolia were the preferred solution. A small group of churches show some individual graves in the pavements and in subsidiary chambers. It is striking, however, that it is the small chapels and parekklesia linked to the nave which were to become the most popular burial sites in the Middle Byzantine period in Cappadocia.

Funeral Chapels and Parekklesia

Small subsidiary chapels and parekklesia were often annexed to the naves of churches in this area. Although both of these could be used for various liturgical ceremonies, a large number of them was used for burials. A subsidiary chapel differs from a parekklesion in size, shape and relation to the nave of the church. Funerary chapels may vary in size but are generally rather small. Attached to the north, south or western wall of the church, they are accessible from the nave through small doorways. By contrast, parekklesia are usually of a standard shape and size; they are predominantly rectangular, elongated chapels, and may be found connecting the north or south walls of the nave. They are usually separated from the nave by several archways. Both chapel types are provided with apses, liturgical furnishings and altar screens for liturgical services. Since both chapel types housed burials, we will place them within the same category.

Babić, in her book on subsidiary chapels in Early and Middle Byzantine architecture, noted those which contain graves or relics of martyrs, local saints or laymen.[43] Middle Byzantine churches in Cappadocia, it would seem, reflect the widespread Byzantine preference for subsidiary

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169 and fig. 77; for the monastery church near Karabel in Lycia: R.M. Harrison, "Churches and Chapels of Central Lycia," AS 13 (1963) fig. 11.

[41] Restle, *Wall Painting*, II, pl. XXV, ill. 280.

[42] For the plan of Yılanlı Kilise, cf. Epstein, "Rock-cut Chapels," fig. 43; for Chapel 2a in Avcılar (Maçan), see Teteriatnikov, "Burial Places," 144, figs. 2-3.

[43] Babić, *Les chapelles*, esp. 7-58.

mortuary chapels. Their use and architectural arrangement are no doubt derived from Early Christian architectural tradition. Thus a small mortuary chapel can be attached to the north, south, or western wall of the nave, as was often the case in Early Byzantine church architecture. For example, in the eleventh-century Eski Gümüş in Niğde, there is a tiny chapel flanking the nave at the eastern end of its north wall (pl. 18).[44] A large grave, almost the size of its floor, suggests that this chapel was specifically constructed to house the grave. Moreover, the chapel is completely dark: it has no windows and can be entered only through a small doorway. Another type of layout can be seen in the eleventh-century Yılanlı Kilise in the Ihlara valley.[45] Here a small, narrow chapel is attached to the western part of the north wall; there are several tombs in the pavement. In the eleventh-century Kokar Kilise in the same valley two mortuary chapels are linked to the western wall of the church in such a way that the apses of these chapels are not directed toward the east, but atypically face south.[46] A variety of mortuary chapel plans can be found among the churches of this region.

A distinctive characteristic of funerary chapels of this type is their great individuality as well as the variety of their arrangements. These variations in plans no doubt reflect the decisions of the individuals commissioning these chapels.

The parekklesion is another type of subsidiary chapel which can be used for burials. An elongated rectangular chapel flanking the church nave is well known from such Constantinopolitan examples as the parekklesia of the twelfth-century Pantocrator monastery or the fourteenth-century church of the Kariye Camii.[47] Both had burials located in arcosolia. An earlier version of this type can be seen in the mid-tenth-century New Tokalı Kilise in Göreme (pl. 4, ill. 74).[48] The parekklesion in the New Tokalı is joined to the north wall of the transverse nave of the church, separated from the nave by a screen of horseshoe-shaped arches and a parapet. One of the arch openings, the third from the east, is used as an entrance to the chapel. The apse of the parekklesion, like those of the nave, is directed toward the east and is provided with an altar, pres-

[44] Restle, *Wall Painting*, I, 180, pl. LXIV.

[45] Thierry and Thierry, *Hasan Daği*, 90 and fig. 20.

[46] Ibid., 115, and fig. 24.

[47] C. Mango, "Notes on Byzantine Monuments," DOP 23-24 (1969-70) 372-375. P. A. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami* (New York 1966) II, 269-299, and figs. 1, 11-12.

[48] Epstein, "Rock-cut Chapels," 124-126; *Tokalı Kilise*, 4-32, ill. 6, 9, 49, 55-57.

byters' seats and a low parapet screen. There are graves in this chapel. However, as with many funeral parekklesia in the region, this chapel has no traces of painting. Also, the sixth and furthermost arch, on the eastern end of the north wall, is filled in, not open like the others; it contains a large painting of the funeral of St. Basil, the lower part of which is considerably damaged.[49] This picture is located directly to the right of the entrance to the chapel. We do not know the precise function of this parekklesion, but it is possible that it might have been associated with some sort of commemorative services. Although this type of parekklesion found in New Tokalı might well have taken final form during this period, it may have ultimately derived from the double- and triple-nave plan, very common in Cappadocia and elsewhere, in which one nave was used as the main church and the other was used as a burial place. Examples are common in Cappadocia: the double-nave church of St. Basil near Mustafapaşa (ninth-century), St. Eustathius in Göreme (tenth-century) and Balik Kilise, Münşil Kilise (tenth-century), and Çanavar Kilise (eleventh-century) in Soğanlı, and others.[50]

We do not have any securely dated early rock-cut double-nave churches in Cappadocia. Restle has, however, recorded two double-nave masonry churches in Cappadocia: St. Andrew in Tilköy (around the sixth century) and Çavdarlik Kilise (second half of the seventh century).[51] Double-nave churches had been built in Cilicia in Asia Minor in Early Christian times.[52] Thus they can be considered forerunners of the Middle Byzantine parekklesion in Cappadocia.

The parekklesion in the rock-cut Cappadocian churches had one great advantage: its open arcade, which usually separates the chapel from the nave, provides it with more light. The majority of the churches in Cappadocia have only one door, or, at most, a window in the main church: thus, all other annexed mortuary chapels remained dark, and were lit only by candles.

In observing the development of burial types and their locations throughout the churches of Cappadocia, several conclusions can be

[49] Jerphanion, I, 364-365.

[50] For other examples and a discussion of double-nave churches cf. Ötüken, "Zweischiffige Kirchen," 543-552; *Arts of Cappadocia*, 94; Restle, "Kappadokien," col. 1001, with bibliography.

[51] Restle, *Studien*, 544.

[52] Ötüken, "Zweischiffige Kirchen," 543-552; Sodini, *Aliki*, I, 284-287, with bibliography.

drawn. (1) Most types of burial and their locations had an origin in early Christian times. (2) The majority of graves are concentrated in porches, narthexes and the burial chambers, chapels, and parekklesia. (3) The Middle Byzantine churches of this area show a great density of tombs, with particular preference for private mortuary chapels and parekklesia. These intimate compartments annexed to the church possibly were developed during this period out of the necessity for providing additional space for the celebration of commemorative services.

2. Burials, Commemorations, and their Social Implications

We know little of the regulations which determined where people were to be buried within a church; Cappadocian literary sources, including church typika, have not survived. In his article on the twin-domed narthex in late Balkan architecture, Ćurčić has noted that commemorative services for the deceased were held in the narthex in Serbian churches of the fourteenth century.[53] However, this was not a new phenomenon: Papageorgiou has cited several Middle Byzantine typika for churches in Cyprus, which refer to similar customs.[54] The thirteenth-century typikon for the monastery of Constantine Lips in Constantinople makes it clear that the Empress Theodora planned to locate her own grave and those of her family in various spots in the narthex and nave of the church.[55] The custom of locating graves in both the narthex and nave is also recorded in literary sources and in the archeological evidence provided by Middle Byzantine Russian churches.[56] In addition, Babić has recorded the existence of burials in subsidiary chapels of both Early and Middle Byzantine churches.[57] Although each typikon had its own specifications, the burial sites in Cappadocian churches and elsewhere in Byzantine architecture suggest that there was considerable choice. The presence of burials in the porches, narthexes, naves, burial chapels, chambers and parekklesia indicates that each of these compartments must have housed liturgical and commemorative services.

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[53] Ćurčić, "Narthex," 342-344.

[54] Papageorgiou, "Narthex," 447.

[55] Th. Macridy, "The Monastery of Lips (Fenari Isa) at Istanbul," DOP 18 (1964) 269-272, and fig. 5.

[56] P. A. Rapoport, *Russkaia arkhitektura X-XII vv.* (Leningrad 1982) 7-8, 12, 14, 77.

[57] Babić, *Les chapelles*, esp. 34-127.

Several special features of certain Cappadocian grave sites suggest that the requirements of private individuals were taken into account in church planning. An interesting example of liturgical furnishing near a grave site is found in Ayvalı Kilise in Güllü Dere (913-920).[58] A grave is located in the passageway between the two naves (ill. 75). There is a seat placed above the head of this grave, and an altar niche is located over the feet. The Ascension of Elijah, symbolic of the Resurrection, is painted on the vault of this passageway.[59] This very special decorative program together with the liturgical furnishings at the grave implies that some sort of commemorative services took place within this particular area. Another example can be seen in the tenth-century church of St. Theodore near Ürgüp.[60] A large grave is carved out of the pavement of the northwest corner of the church along the north wall. At the foot of this grave is a small three-step altar, cut cubically out of the wall, marking the place for commemorative services. Moreover, among the various scenes of the life of Christ on the walls, two, the Crucifixion and the Anastasis, references to Christ's Death and Resurrection respectively, were painted above the ambo near the grave.[61] The ambo and the painted program were designed to commemorate the deceased.

Along with their importance for architectural history or liturgical practice, the study of burials may also provide us with a better understanding of the role of monks and the laity in the church communities of Cappadocia. Art historians have traditionally focused their attention on the primary role of monks in the churches and monasteries of this region.[62] The contribution of donors has usually been considered simply as some sort of outside benefaction.[63] However, observation of the graves, and study of the dedicatory inscriptions, epitaphs, invocations and

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[58] Thierry and Thierry, "Ayvalı Kilise," 97-154, and fig. 1; Thierry, *Haut Moyen-Âge*, fig. 49.

[59] Thierry and Thierry, "Ayvalı Kilise," 120-122 and figs. 15, 16; Thierry, *Haut Moyen-Âge*, pl. 69a.

[60] Restle, *Wall Painting*, III, pl. XXXVI, ill. 385; Jerphanion, II, 17-49.

[61] Restle, *Wall Painting*, III, pl. XXXVI, ill. 385. For the use of the Crucifixion and the Anastasis as private salvation programs, see N. Teteriatnikov, "Private Salvation Programs and their Effect on Byzantine Church Decoration," *Arte Medievale* VII/2 (1993) 47-63.

[62] Kostof, *Caves*, 47-50; A. J. Wharton, *Art of Empire: Painting and Architecture of the Byzantine Periphery* (University Park and London 1988) 13-18; Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, 237-254.

[63] Kostof, *Cave Monasteries*, 153-155; Schiemenz, "Stifter," 133-173.

painted decorations show that the graves located within the Early and Middle Byzantine churches of this area were meant both for monks and the clergy and for laymen and their families. This evidence points to the significance of both monks and laity in local communities.

Several churches have yielded graves of monks and the clergy. For example, the large arcosolium located in the north wall of the north church in the Ayvalı Kilise in Güllü Dere belonged to a monk named John.[64] Significantly, the molding which frames the entire arcosolium is continued as the cornice of the church, which suggests that church and arcosolium were carved out together. There is an inscription painted on the molding: "John has rendered this place holy in the year of the world ..., ... in the month of November on the 14th day."[65] An epitaph found on the wall of the early tenth-century church of St. Simeon at Zelve tells us that a monk had prepared his grave during his lifetime: "While I live I dig this burial cave; receive me, O tomb, as you have the Stylite."[66]

In the early tenth-century church of Karabaş Kilise in Soğanlı, the southernmost chapel was probably reserved for the abbot Bathystrokos and his family.[67] The portrait of the abbot and his two sons and an epitaph are located on the eastern and northern walls of this chapel. Moreover, there are four graves in the church pavement, and a fifth one for a baby elevated above the floor level on the south wall.

In addition to the graves of monks and clergy, we encounter graves of laymen — that is to say, *ktitors* — and their families. The representation of three donors near the figure of St. Simeon carrying the Cross, located just above a grave near the western wall of the eleventh-century Çarıklı Kilise in Göreme, suggests in this way a lay grave (ill. 76).[68] A small picture of the *ktitor* Theodore is painted near a large figure of Christ in the lunette just above Theodore's grave in the funeral chamber.[69] Women and children were also frequently buried in churches. In the early tenth-century chapel of Eğri Taş in Ihlara, directly over the arcosolium in the south wall of the funeral chamber is an inscription: "Here rests the servant of God Irene, who was distinguished by her perfect life; she died

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[64] Thierry, *Haut Moyen-Âge*, 100-101, 138; Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, 212.

[65] Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, 212.

[66] Jerphanion, I, 577-580; Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, 192.

[67] Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, 193-197, fig. 36.

[68] Restle, *Wall Painting*, II XXI, ill. 217.

[69] Restle, *Wall Painting*, II, pl. XXIII, fig. 245; Epstein, "Rock-cut Chapels," fig. 43.

March 3."[70] In Kubelli Kilise 2 (large cone) in Soğanlı, in the small parekklesion to the right of the door there are two graves in the pavement.[71] Above, on the wall, there is an epitaph: "Here rest Phelikiane and Ioannes, the mother and the son."[72]

Moreover, numerous graves of different sizes, including those of small children and infants, give important evidence that not only monks, but also private families were buried there. It is notable that many infants' burials were included inside the benches around the church naos and the narthex. One can see tombs reserved for family burials in almost every church of this region, as, for example, in the mortuary chapel in Avcılar (ill. 69).

The dedicatory inscriptions, epitaphs, invocations, and painted programs dating from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries offer us information about the social aspects of the local communities. These sources indicate a large number of laypeople, including women, in addition to monks and clergy, and testify to the considerable importance of the laity in local church communities. Their benefaction to the churches and monasteries should not be considered a simple propaganda gesture; pious laymen and their families were no doubt closely involved with church life in this region. Thus the commonly used epitaph "Those who read this, pray for us..." suggests that monks, clergy and laymen all contributed in their own way to the churches, in order to be buried there and to be commemorated after their death. All this points to the fact that laity participated in the social, spiritual and economic life of the church. Monasticism in this region gained considerable support from these local wealthy families.

Finally, the analysis of burial sites in the rock-cut churches in Cappadocia has revealed a process of evolution stretching continuously from the Early Christian into the Middle Byzantine period. Local burial traditions in Cappadocia may also shed some light on parallel developments abroad. Although the types of burial in Cappadocian churches and their location show certain similiarities with their counterparts elsewhere in Byzantium, within the church plans they are distinguished by their density and the variety of arrangements. The diversity of burial sites is no doubt due to the local rock-cut technique which made it relatively easy to carve out tombs. At the same time, the popularity of funerary chapels,

[70] Thierry, *Hasan Daği*, 69.

[71] Jerphanion, II, 294, 295.

[72] Ibid.

chambers or parekklesia attests to the growing liturgical importance of these burial sites. Both these tendencies contributed to the enrichment of Early and Middle Byzantine church architecture in this area.

CHAPTER V

Ecclesiastical Foundations: Social and Economic Implications

The liturgical planning of Byzantine churches incorporated the specific requirements of their patrons. This chapter will examine how these requirements, together with social and economic factors, affected the liturgical planning of rock-cut churches in Cappadocia. Although several studies on Cappadocian patronage have been undertaken, the nature of the monk-lay relationship and the impact both monks and laymen had on local church foundations still needs further clarification.

For almost half a century scholarly works were concentrated on individual patrons in connection with church dating. As a result, some of these studies provided a *terminus ad quem* for the dating of several church foundations in Cappadocia and for establishing their chronology. Jerphanion's study remains a major publication that provides information on the inscriptions, graffiti and donor portraits.[1] A summary article on donors' inscriptions and portraits has been published by Lafontaine-Dosogne and Schiemenz.[2] Recently Rodley and Thierry have published new inscriptions and donor portraits in several Cappadocian churches and provided identification of their patrons.[3]

Much attention has been given in recent studies to the social and economic aspects of patronage. The role of Cappadocian patronage has been briefly treated by Kostof.[4] Although in his opinion monastic foundations were economically strong, self-supporting institutions, he thinks that aid was also given to them by local wealthy families and military donors.[5] He did not, however, provide descriptive evidence in favor of local patronage. In her book *Tokalı Kilise: Tenth-Century Metropolitan Art in Byzantine Cappadocia*, Epstein attributed Tokalı Kilise's patronage to the provincial

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[1] Jerphanion, I, 1-42.

[2] Lafontaine-Dosogne, "Nouvelles notes," 121-183 and pls. 1- XXII; Schiemenz, "Stifter," 133-174.

[3] Thierry and Thierry, *Hasan Daği*, 49-51, 123, 137-138; for bibliography, see Rodley, "names," in *Cave Monasteries*, 264-265.

[4] Kostof, *Caves*, 153-155.

[5] Ibid.

military aristocracy.[6] On the contrary, Thierry, in a recent article, argues that the donor of this most famous Cappadocian church was from the imperial family of Nikephoros Phokas.[7] Further analysis of the social status of donors' names has been made by Rodley in her book *Cave Monasteries of Byzantine Cappadocia*.[8] She came to the conclusion that the majority of donors were of middle or lower rank. She also identified several donors who were probably associated with local Cappadocian families. Although the above studies have thrown light on some aspects of patronage, we still need to know more about the primary sources of economic support of the local communities and the nature of their patronage in order better to understand the complexity of local liturgical church planning. The socio-economic aspects of patronage have not been systematically applied in studies of the development of architecture in the Byzantine provinces. Therefore in this chapter we will examine 1) the geographic location of church foundations, 2) ecclesiastical patronage, and 3) lay patronage, and the impact these factors had on the liturgical planning of local church foundations.

1. Geographic Location

Studies of Cappadocian towns and villages and of the road system recorded information on the local population during early Christian and Medieval times.[9] Although scholars determined the geographic location of the monastic settlements, the principle of their location in connection to nearby villages and towns was not seriously considered by art historians in understanding the nature of the relationship between the monks and the local population.

Judging from the map of Cappadocia, it is striking that modern Turkish villages and towns are found near the majority of churches and monasteries (pl. 19). Two districts of Cappadocia include most of the monastic settlements. One is the district of Hasan Dağ, between Niğde

[6] Epstein, *Tokalı*, 39 ff.

[7] Thierry, "Tokalı," 217-246.

[8] Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, 250-252.

[9] Major publications that include discussion on Cappadocian geography and topography: Ramsay, *Asia Minor*, 27, 28, 35, 36, 38, 41, 45-46, 56, 58, 63, 69, 73, 98, 252, 371, 386, 399; Jerphanion, I, 1-42; Hild, *Strassensystem*, 33-148; Hild and Restle, *Kappadokien*, 47-56; Thierry and Thierry, *Hasan Daği*, 1-41; Thierry, *Haut Moyen-Âge*, 35-42; eadem, "Un problème de continuité," 98-144, esp. 98-113; *Arts of Cappadocia*, 51-80.

and the Taurus Mountains; the second is the district bounded by Kaysari on the east, Aksaray (Koloneia) on the west, the river Kızıl Irmak on the north, and the Soğanlı Dere mountains on the south. Through the first district runs the ancient strategic road connecting Ankara on one side and the Cilician Gates and Tyana on the other. To the east of Niğde, the center of this district, is the Ihlara valley with the Mellendiz Süyü river in the middle. This valley comprises several villages, among them Ihlara, Belisirma, Yesilisar, and Selime. The church settlements are located in the rocks on both sides of the valley.[10] Judging by the walking distance, all these monastic settlements are easily accessible from the villages. Moreover, a great number of churches are closely grouped between the villages of Ihlara and Belisirma (3 kilometers distance), Yesilisar and Selime (2 kilometers distance). It is difficult to know the original location of the Turkish village of Ihlara; at present, the modern Turkish village is located two kilometers from the beginning of the valley.

A similar pattern of church settlements can be observed in the second district of Cappadocia. One of the significant ancient roads in this district runs from Kayseri to Aksaray by way of Nevşehir (Soandus). From these centers a minor net of roads connects other villages and towns. A great number of churches were founded near Ürgüp (Hagios Prokopios), Göreme (Gorama), and Maçan (Matiane).[11] The largest group of monastic settlements is found in the Göreme valley. Although the churches and monasteries of Göreme have usually been considered the most isolated monastic group, they are only a twenty-minute walk (1.5 kilometers) from the village of Avcılar (ill. 77).[12]

Further from Avcılar the road runs west to the villages of Çavuşın and Zelve.[13] To the east of Çavuşın are three almost parallel valleys: Güllü Dere, Kızıl Çukur and Meşcandir. Several churches cut into the rock of these valleys lie a short distance from one another. All these church foundations are within 1.5 kilometers from the village of Çavuşın. Moreover, at the center of Çavuşın, on the top of this rock-cut ancient village, one finds a huge basilica, dated to the fifth or sixth century. It is the oldest among the rock-cut churches in Cappadocia. Just in front of this vil-

[10] *Arts of Cappadocia*, Map #6; Thierry, *Hasan Dağı*, fig. 6; Hild and Restle, *Kappadokien*, Maps (Kappadokia, Charsianon, Sebasteia and Lykandos).

[11] Hild and Restle, ibid.; *Arts of Cappadocia*, Maps 2-4.

[12] Hild and Restle, ibid., and Map (Korama and Matiane); *Arts of Cappadocia*, Map 4.

[13] Hild and Restle, ibid., Map (Çavuşın, Zelve, Güllü Dere and Kızıl Çukur).

lage, on an isolated rock, one sees a small (two meters long) chapel placed on the road toward the parallel valleys.

Three kilometers to the west of Çavuşın, one finds the churches of Zelve. A few of them are spread out in a one-kilometer range outside of the rock-cut village, but the majority are integrated within it.

Several large monastic settlements are situated to the south of Ürgüp (Hagios Prokopios). One group of churches is located in the village of Ortahisar and its surroundings (1.5-2 kilometers from Ortahisar).[14] Other church settlements are spread out between Ürgüp and the Soğanlı valley (ill. 78). Proceeding toward the Soğanlı valley from Ürgüp one passes several villages with church settlements including Mustafapaşa (Sinassos), Cemil, Damsaköy (Tatimos), and Söviş (Sobesos).[15] Passing the Soğanlı we find another large group of churches and monasteries in the villages of Güzelöz, Başköy, and Ortaköy.

Observing the pattern of church location in each district of this area, it appears that churches and monasteries are situated within, or at least near, the civic centers — villages or small towns. Most of these villages and towns, such as Ürgüp, Avcılar, Damsaköy (Tatimos), Sivas (Sobesos), Ortaköy, Avanos (Venassa), Nevşehir, Niğde (Magida), and others have been recorded in the sources from Early Christian times on.[16] In addition, recently Hild determined an ancient road system of this area that includes major church settlements, such as Ürgüp, Göreme, Maçan, Çavuşın, Zilve, Soğanlı, and others.[17]

Moreover, most of the villages and towns mentioned above have remains of rock-cut houses and in some cases rock-cut castles. In the villages of Maziköy, Maçan, Azügüzel, Mavrucan, Enediköy, Arabsun, Yaprahisar, Zazama, Avanos and Ortahisar, Roman tombs and cemeteries still survive.[18] Their presence testifies to the existence of a population in this area during Roman times. Although we are not able archaeologically to date the rock-cut houses and castles of this territory, the histori-

[14] *Arts of Cappadocia*, Maps 2, 3 and 5. Hild and Restle, *Kappadokien*, Map (Kappadokia, Charsianon, Sebasteia and Lykandros).

[15] Hild and Restle, ibid., *Arts of Cappadocia*, Map 3.

[16] Hild and Restle, *Kappadokien*, Map (Kappadokia, Charsianon, and Lykandros).

[17] Ibid.

[18] Thierry, "Un problème de continuité," 108-113, figs. 7-9, 11-14; eadem, "Découvertes à la necropole de Göreme (Cappadoce)," MonPiot (1984), 656-691 and figs. 1-5; *Arts of Cappadocia*, 85, 86.

cal sources inform us that these Cappadocian civic centers were active during Early and Middle Byzantine times.

Finally, scholars have also presented data on the bishoprics in Cappadocia.[19] It is significant that among the major bishoprics (such as Caesarea, Nazianzos, Mokissos and others), Maçan and Hagios Prokopios were already mentioned in the sources from early Christian times on. Cappadocian monks participated in the Council of Chalcedon. Maçan was mentioned in the *Life* of the local Cappadocian St. Hieron dated around the year 600.[20] In addition to Maçan and Hagios Prokopios, Niğde is mentioned in the sources as a bishopric during the eighth and ninth centuries.[21] Niğde is located close to the monastic settlements of the Ihlara valley, and it is possible that this episcopal center served the churches of this valley. It is most probable that the bishoprics of Ürgüp and Maçan served the churches not only in their own environment but those of Çavuşın, Zelve, and Göreme as well.

In sum, the ecclesiastical topography shows the proximity of monastic settlements to the civic centers and roads, as well as bishoprics.

2. Patronage

The economic conditions and financial support of Cappadocian ecclesiastical foundations constitute a key factor in understanding the tremendous number of churches and monasteries in various districts of this Byzantine province. The construction of a church or a large monastery, as well as the commission of the painted decorations, requires a great deal of wealth, and scholars have recognized the importance of patronage as a major economic resource for monastic foundations. Nevertheless, we still do not have enough evidence to draw any conclusion concerning the actual value of ecclesiastical patronage and its financial resources. In dealing with these questions, we must use a statistical approach to the sources, i.e. the dedicatory inscriptions that include information on the social status of monks, clergy and laymen.

An appendix, provided at the end of this chapter, furnishes some information on various aspects of the social structure of Cappadocian communities and their patronage. Most of the sources were published in

[19] Jerphanion, I, LI-LXII; Hild and Restle, *Kappadokien*, 112-123, with bibliography.

[20] AASS, 66, cols. 329-339.

[21] Hild and Restle, *Kappadokien*, 112-115.

church surveys and general publications on Cappadocian churches. These sources include dedicatory inscriptions, funeral epitaphs, graffiti, invocations, and donors' portraits. In particular, Jerphanion's publications preserve the information from inscriptions that have been either seriously damaged or disappeared together with the fresco decoration.

Although most of the sources are well known to art historians, they are still not fully explored. As mentioned above, the sources most frequently discussed in scholarly literature were the dedicatory inscriptions and portraits of donors. Other sources, such as funeral epitaphs, graffiti, and invocations have occasionally been used. This latter body of information is important as a supplementary source, for inscriptions of these classes frequently included references to the people's social status. Moreover, some funeral epitaphs give evidence for the actual relationship between the buried people and the church. Some funeral epitaphs, invocations or graffiti are difficult to date; we have selected those which can be generally dated within the period under discussion.

In presenting such an appendix, one has to make qualifications concerning the scope of the materials. A work entitled *The Arts of Cappadocia,* a relatively recent popular study of Cappadocian geography, history, architecture and painting, estimated that there are thousands of structures in this area including about a hundred and fifty churches which have preserved paintings or carved decorations.[22] The maps at the end of this book include 167 rock-cut churches, many of which are still unpublished. Rodley in her book estimated about three hundred churches.[23] Nevertheless, among the 167 recorded churches there are 54 that preserve information on patrons associated with the church community.

The majority of the surviving materials can be dated from the ninth through the thirteenth century. The dating of these churches is based on inscriptions or artistic style. Some of the funeral epitaphs, graffiti, or invocations can be dated only approximately by paleography.

The appendix consists of two major parts: 1) clergy and monks, and 2) male and female laymen.

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[22] *Arts of Cappadocia*, see lists of churches (plans 2-6).

[23] Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, 7 and note 22.

Clergy and Monks

Fifty-one monks, nuns, and clergy members can be identified in the dedicatory inscriptions, funeral epitaphs, invocations, and painted portraits. About half of them are known from the sources as donors, and others are mentioned in funeral epitaphs and invocations as being associated with church foundations. Those of the second group cannot be considered major donors, but rather should be recorded as a secondary group of financial supporters, since any form of commemoration in inscriptions required some donation of money. In addition, monks or clergy upon entering a monastery could bring an amount of money depending upon their age.[24] Therefore, some contribution of this group as members of congregations could be possible.

In dealing with the actual clerical donors (only 51), it appears by comparison that lay contributors (117) are about twice as numerous as clerical donors. Although we have information on only 54 churches, it is safe to suppose that this situation was typical of other church foundations as well. Evaluating this number for each historical period we come out with a different percentage of clergy and monastic donors.

8th-9th	–	8
10th	–	19
11th	–	20
12th	–	1
13th	–	3
TOTAL:		51

Comparing this calculation of the clergy and monks with the number of the laity, we arrive at similar results for every period of Cappadocian history. Monastic and clerical donors were outnumbered by laity. This being the case, what were the economic resources of monks and clergy who were able to establish a church or a monastery based on their own financial means? In analyzing this question, we first must ascertain the ranks of the monks and clergy.

	8th-9th	10th	11th	12th	13th
Presbyters	3	8	8		
Deacons	2	1	4	1	
Monks	3	10	6		3
Nuns			2		
TOTAL:	8	19	20	1	3

[24] A. P. Kazhdan, *Derevnia i gorod v Vizantii IX-X vv.* (Moscow 1960) 72.

This table of statistics gives a colorful picture of all the ranks of clergy and monks as patrons. The picture is fairly clear; there was no hierarchical principle in donations. The percentage of monks and deacons was higher than that of higher ranks of clergy, such as priests and abbots. This stands in contrast to the data presented by S. Kalopissi-Verty in her study of patronage in the thirteenth-century churches of Greece.[25] According to her, the majority of patrons during this period in Greece were high-ranking clerics and abbots.[26] Most of the information on donors in Cappadocian churches comes from the ninth to the eleventh centuries. It is interesting that during this period in the rural area we find mixed patronage among the clergy. Moreover, the majority of patrons appear to be monks. Consequently, since monks were able to donate money for church foundations, one wonders where their money came from.

Because of the lack of historical sources, we must review the context of the inscriptions. From them it appears that some monks and clergy members were probably from noble or simply wealthy families of various social positions. Some dedicatory inscriptions reveal a joint benefaction of churchmen with members of their families. For example, in the dedicatory inscription of the eleventh-century Chapel 23 (Karabaş Kilise) in Soğanlı a nun called Catherine is mentioned together with the *protospatharios* Michael Skepides, as well as the monk Nyphon.[27] Skepidis was Catherine's husband, and when he died she became a nun. In addition, three of Catherine's daughters are also depicted in the church murals.[28] In the eleventh-century church of St. Michael in the Ihlara valley, the monk Arsenios donated money together with his son Theophylact, *protospatharios* and *axiarch*.[29] The social status of the monk's son sheds some light on the social background of his father. According to the Byzantine system, children often took the position of their father when he retired.[30] Whatever the circumstances were, Arsenios must have had a high social position as well. Another example is a funeral epitaph inscribed above the arcosolium grave in the funeral chamber of the Church Eğri Taş in Ihlara valley: "Tomb of my father, the priest (of the church) of the

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[25] Kalopissi-Verty, *Dedicatory Inscriptions*, 41-46.

[26] Ibid., 37-46.

[27] Jerphanion, II, 334-335.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Thierry, "Un style byzantin," 45-61; J. Cheynet, "Note sur l'axiarque et le taxiarque," REB 44 (1986) 233-235.

[30] Cheynet, ibid.

Theotokos."[31] This inscription implies that the priest had a family who ordered it to be painted after his death. Although we do not have much information on this matter, it seems likely that monks and clergy must have received some financial support from their families. As mentioned above, the legislation of Leo VI even required that monks bring some money when they entered a monastery.[32] Monks were also allowed to retain their personal property and make their own will concerning it. If the monk who founded the church or monastery had a son, upon the monk's death these foundations could become the property of his family.[33] In view of government legislation, the support of monks by their families is even more understandable.

Analyzing the social background of various monks during the Iconoclast and Post-Iconoclast periods, scholars have distinguished from the hagiographical literature many monks who came from wealthy families and donated their properties to churches and monasteries.[34] We know that several Cappadocian noble houses had monks in their families. There was the monk Eudokimos from the Maleinos family;[35] Michael Maleinos, the famous monk of the first half of the tenth century, came from one of the wealthiest Cappadocian families;[36] while according to the *Life of St. Irene*, this noble Cappadocian lady became a nun at the age of twenty.[37] There was also a monk Michael from the Phokas family.[38] A parallel situation existed in Greece and in other regions of Asia Minor.[39]

Further observation of the dedicatory inscriptions and donor portraits shows that monks and clergymen frequently appeared with laity in joint benefactions. For example, in the conch of the central apse of the elev-

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[31] Lafontaine-Dosogne, "Nouvelles notes," 167-170, esp. 167; Thierry and Thierry, *Hasan Daği*, 67.

[32] Kazhdan, "Monastyr," 48-70, esp. 59.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Ruggieri, *Architecture*, 103-107.

[35] Stavrakas, *The Byzantine Provincial Elite*, 28-33.

[36] Ibid.; for Michael Maleinos, see Petit, L. ed., "Vie de St. Michel Maléinos suivie du traité ascétique de Basile le Maleinote," *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 7 (1902), 543-603.

[37] Stavrakas, *The Byzantine Provincial Elite*, 104.

[38] For Phokas' family, see H. Grégoire, "La carrière du premier Nicéphore Phokas," *Prosphora eis Stilpona P. Kyriakides* (Thessalonica 1953) 231-254; I. Djurič, "Porodica Foka," ZR 17 (1976), 189-296; R. Morris, "The Powerful and the Poor in Tenth-Century Byzantium: Law and Reality," *Past and Present* 73 (1976), 16.

[39] Stavrakas, *The Byzantine Provincial Elite*, 66-67; Ruggieri, *Architecture*, 103-107.

enth-century Karanlık Kilise in Göreme, there is a picture of a priest, Nikephoros, wearing the *epitrachelion* and *phelonion*, prostrated to the left of the enthroned Christ, and to the right of Christ is represented the layman Bassianos (ill. 79).[40] In addition, a combination of churchmen and laity is found in the five dedicatory inscriptions as well as many invocations.[41] This further signifies the importance of laity to the local church congregations.

Besides economic resources, other factors also provided substantial grounds for the increase of ecclesiastical foundations. From the existing data on monks and clergy it appears that the tenth and eleventh centuries were the period of greatest activity among clerical patrons. This period is usually characterized as a time of the highest artistic production. The phenomenon is commonly interpreted as a result of the secure political and economic condition of this Byzantine province between the period of Iconoclasm and the Turkish invasion of Asia Minor in 1071. This description of the situation makes sense, as it reflects the great wealth of the local families and the stability of life in the region. But all these factors must be seen in relation to the government's attitudes toward monastic foundations and its policies toward churches and monasteries.

Control of local administration as well as church foundations was always exercised through the centralized government system in Byzantium. Therefore, legislation during the ninth and tenth centuries concerning various aspects of ecclesiastical foundations had a great effect on their extent and size. The book by John Thomas on private ecclesiastical foundations in Byzantium shows that after the period of Iconoclasm, church foundations regained the same power as they had had before the time of Justinian.[42] Legislation of Leo VI, Romanos Lekapenos, Constantine Porphyrogennetos, and Nikephoros Phokas contributed a great deal to the increase of private ecclesiastical foundations.[43] Privileges granted to monastic foundations included immunity from taxation, and this encouraged the laity to donate money to churches and monasteries, stimulating the growth of monasticism throughout the empire. A private founder could build a church on his own estate and

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[40] Jerphanion, I, 398.

[41] Joint benefactions are found in dedicatory inscriptions of Karanlık Kilise, Karabaş Kilise, and the Chapel of St. Michael in Ihlara.

[42] Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations*, 139-143.

[43] Ibid.; see also Ruggieri, *Architecture*, 49-79.

have his own clergy. In general, a variety of possibilities were opened up for both monks and clergy as well as laity.

Concerning the size of church foundations in Cappadocia, we can make several observations. To begin with, there are certain differences between the size of tenth-century churches and those in the eleventh. Churches of the tenth century are consistent in size, with a very few exceptions, such as the New Tokalı Kilise in Göreme valley. Churches of the eleventh century are less consistent in this respect. Small monastic foundations can be found side by side with very large and spacious churches, such as the basilica in Selime, Ala Kilise in Ihlara, or the Tağar triconch. In this matter of varying size, Cappadocia does not seem to be an exception. Byzantine monasticism in Constantinople, Greece, Russia and the Balkans exhibits a tendency to establish both small and large foundations. The appearance of large monasteries can be attributed to the increase in wealth during the eleventh century.[44]

The period following the Turkish occupation of Eastern Anatolia in 1071 had the apparent effect of depressing Christian life in Cappadocia and putting a halt to the establishing of churches and monasteries.[45] The destruction of Christian communities by the Turks removed the economic and legal basis for the development of new ecclesiastical foundations. With the stabilization of Christian life in the thirteenth century and the adaptation of Christians to Seljuk culture, there was a revival in the establishment of new churches and monasteries.[46] The laity and the Byzantine state, still in control of Christian communities in the occupied territory, sponsored most of these churches. The background and nature of patronage of these communities will be discussed later, along with the phenomenon of lay patronage. Here a few additional words on the size of monastic foundations are in order. Mostly because of the survival of the local Christian population, church architecture reveals the survival of local liturgical church planning. In the majority of cases, we are dealing here not so much with the establishment of new churches and monasteries as with the restoration of old ones. Donations were mostly made for new layers of decorative painting in the old churches. Some new churches, however, were constructed, such as the Forty Martyrs in Sivas and St. George of Belisirma. Neither in size nor in liturgical planning do they differ from the earlier church foundations.

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[44] Kazhdan, "Monastyr," 48-70.

[45] Vryonis, *Decline*, 143-145; idem, *Studies*, esp. Chapters I, III-VIII.

[46] Vryonis, *Decline*, ibid, 194-216.

Another observation connected with the size of the churches and their economic resources concerns the size of the monastic congregations. Analyzing the size of monastic congregations in Byzantium in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries on the basis of monastic typika, Kazhdan has shown that in general monastic communities in Byzantium during this period were not very large.[47] Their sizes varied from three to eighty or more monks. Most commonly, communities included between five and ten monks. The absence of monastic typika for Cappadocia makes it difficult to know what kind of communities existed in these rural places. On the other hand, physical observation of the churches can shed some light on this problem.

Surviving liturgical furniture, such as individual rock-cut chairs and benches in church naves, and the sizes of tables and benches in some of the monastic refectories, can be used as a source of data. A group of churches dating from the second part of the ninth century in the Güllü Dere valley shows the presence of individual chairs in the walls of their naves. These chairs were reserved as seats for the monks and clergy. A tiny chapel, measuring 2.5 x 2 m., not yet published, is located near Chapel 1 in Güllü Dere.[48] Its north and south walls provide rock-cut chairs, two on each side, which were originally decorated with painting; traces of the painting are still preserved on their backs. Another (Chapel 5) is slightly bigger in size (3 x 2 m.), and has very similar chairs, two on the north side and three on the south (ill. 54).[49] The fragments of painting show a rich ornamental design on the chair backs. According to the number of chairs we can assume that five monks or members of the community attended this little chapel. Further observations of this church seem to confirm our suggestion. In the pavement there is a large grave, probably made for a priest of this church. A tiny private chapel (2.5 x 2 m.) is provided with a small altar attached to its north wall, indicating that it was used privately by one of the members of the clergy. Moreover, just outside of this church on its south side near the residential cells we find four other arcosolia graves. Five chairs and five burial places suggest that this monastic community originally comprised five

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[47] Kazhdan, "Monastyr," 51-52.

[48] This chapel is located about 50 meters north of Chapel 1 in Güllü Dere. Its small size, proportions and style of chairs are very similar to those of Chapel 5 in the same valley.

[49] See Chapter II, note 141.

monks. Another example is in Ayvalı Kilise, very close to Chapel 5.[50] This two-nave church was constructed at the end of the ninth century. The north nave probably served as a funeral chapel for a monk; a funeral epitaph above an arcosolium grave in the north wall distinguishes his grave. In the manner of the aforementioned chapels, both naves of Chapel 4 (Ayvalı Kilise) have individual, rectangular chairs decorated with paintings on the walls of both naves. Three chairs are found in the funeral chapel nave of St. John and four in the south nave, which was probably the main church. Because the main church has four chairs, one concludes that this community originally consisted of four monks. For the liturgy, all of them had to gather in the main church, and they were appointed to sit during the *kathisma* reading after the night vigils. In this way, these ninth-century churches tell us the number of their members.

There were probably communities of the same size in the tenth century. According to an inscription from the early tenth-century church of St. Simeon, we know that this church in Zelve was founded by the monk Simeon.[51] As we see from his own epitaph, he even excavated the grave himself. Above this little church Simeon excavated a cell to contain two beds, indicating that originally he probably lived with a companion. According to the novels of Leo VI, a monastery could have no fewer than three monks.[52] Therefore, St. Simeon's place was simply a monastic dwelling. Hermitages similar to his are also found in Zelve and Göreme.

Along with individual monastic dwellings, we find monastic congregations of different sizes. For example, in the church of El Nazar near the Göreme valley there are six chairs reserved for the monks and clergy.[53] A living space cut from below this church indicates that this monastic community lived there. In the tenth century, judging by the size of the churches, it appears that the majority of monastic congregations were not large. There were, however, exceptions such as the Monastery of St. Athanasius on Mount Athos, which had 700 monks in the middle of the eleventh century.[54] Some larger monasteries, like the New Tokalı Kilise, might have had more monks and clergy, but it is difficult to know the

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[50] Ibid.

[51] Jerphanion, I, 571-580.

[52] Kazhdan, "Monastyr," 53; P. Noailles, A. Dain, *Les novelles de Léon VI le Sage* (Paris 1944) 57-58.

[53] For the plan of Chapel 9 (Church of the Theotokos), see Jerphanion, Plates I, pl. 28; for the plan of Chapel 18 see *Arts of Cappadocia*, 79, fig. 28.

[54] Kazhdan, "Monastyr," 52.

actual size of this community. The presence of four large chairs in front of the sanctuary screen indicates that they were used by the clergy, that is, priests, and probably a bishop.[55] Tokalı was a central katholikon of the monastic settlement area in Göreme, and thus its congregation might have been larger than that of other churches. An elongated blind arcade along the south and western walls of this church forms seven seating places to the right of the entrance. Similarly, two chairs are formed by the arcade in the western wall to the north of the entrance. There is a continuous bench in the north wall which can seat about four or five people. So we can identify approximately twenty-one seating places, including four presbyters' chairs near the apse.[56] We find a number of rock-cut seating places in the tenth-century churches of this region:[57]

1. Church of the Holy Apostles near Sinassos 7
2. Chapel 4A in Göreme 5
3. Chapel of Joachim and Anna in Kızıl Çukur 3
4. Tavşanlı Kilise, near Ortahisar 6
5. Chapel 1 in Güllü Dere 5

Based on these examples, the parish or monastic congregation of these churches averages 5.2 persons.

In the churches of the eleventh century we find small foundations juxtaposed with large churches that served large monastic congregations. The eleventh century Tağar triconch is a good example.[58] It is a fairly large church building including living quarters cut within the rock above the church. There is a passageway in the south wall of the western arm connecting the lower church with the upper level quarters. Moreover, the living rooms are situated at the level of the drum, which is surrounded by the gallery, enabling some monks to remain in this space during the liturgy. This arrangement indicates a compact design for the monastic congregation. In the conch nave we again find carved and richly painted individual chairs for the monks and clergy. Two of these, cut into the walls on both sides of the central apse, were probably reserved for the clerical use. Eight other chairs are cut into the wall of the semicircular

[55] Restle, *Wall Painting*, II, pl. X and fig. 61.

[56] Restle, ibid; *Arts of Cappadocia*, ph. 38.

[57] For the plan of the church of the Holy Apostles: Restle, *Wall Painting*, III, pl. XL; for Chapel 4a: ibid. *Wall Painting*, II, pl. IY; for Joachim and Anna: ibid., *Wall Painting*, III, pl. XXXIII; for Chapel 1: ibid., pl. XXVII; for Tavşanlı Kilise: ibid., pl. XXXIX.

[58] Restle, *Wall Painting*, III, pl. XXXV and fig. 355.

south arm of this church. No other chairs or benches are found in the nave. One concludes that this church was originally constructed for ten monks and clergy members.

Several monasteries of the eleventh century are considerably larger in size, such as Aynalı near Göreme, the monastery of Bezirhane near Ortahisar, Ala Kilise in Belisirma, the monastic complex at Selime, the monastery Eski Gümüş near Niğde and others. It is difficult to know the exact number of monks who lived in these monasteries, but it seems that their congregations were larger.

In sum, observing the monastic communities in Cappadocia in the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries, we find various forms of monastic life, from individual hermitages to more extensive monastic congregations. The ninth- and tenth-century monastic congregations seem to be generally smaller than those of the eleventh century. The eleventh century shows very large monasteries side by side with smaller dwellings. These monastic congregations co-existed with the family or parish churches in the villages. Their economic resources seem to have depended heavily upon the laity, local families and villages, and their location near civic centers is not a simple coincidence; their proximity was probably important to both the monks and the laity.

Lay Patronage

Lay patronage reflects the lay preoccupation with church foundations, and although scholars recognize the importance of this patronage, its actual extent and nature still remain unclear. Scholars who have dealt with Cappadocian patronage have viewed the monks and the laity as two different institutions, and therefore treated them separately. If monks, clergy, and laity were isolated from one another, how could they become partners and provide financial support for the church foundations? Materials described earlier illustrated the actual involvement of donors, monks or laity, in church planning and decoration. These factors indicate that church foundations did not stand apart, socially or physically, from the *ktitors'* lives. In dealing with this matter we must focus our attention on two major issues: first, the approximate extent of lay patronage, and second, the motivations for this patronage and the nature of the monastic-lay relationship.

A partial explanation of lay patronage can be found in statistical analysis. Fifty-five churches and monasteries, dating from the ninth to the thirteenth century, provide information on one hundred and three lay

donors. This information is on both male and female donors, and in several cases there are data on the donor's parents, siblings, and children. In comparing these data to that of the monks and clergy donors within the same period, lay patrons are twice as numerous as clergy patrons. Keeping in mind that the materials are fragmentary, we can explore a similar result for the original number of monuments. Nevertheless, the percentage of lay patronage is considerably higher. In order to further verify our statistics, we must evaluate them in relation to each particular period.

Male Patrons

8th-9th century -	3
10th century -	24
11th century -	51
12th century -	1
13th century -	7
TOTAL:	86

Each period gives us a different number of lay patrons, but in comparing these numbers to those of monks and clergy, it again appears that the number of lay patrons, with some exceptions, is higher that of religious. It is obvious from the calculations that the existence of lay patrons for church foundations from the eighth and ninth to the eleventh century is considerably higher than for the period of the twelfth and thirteenth century when Cappadocia was under Turkish occupation.

The economic background of the laity from the ninth to the eleventh century depended upon several basic administrative, political, and economic trends that emerged in Byzantium soon after Iconoclasm. The Byzantine success over the Arabs which removed the Cappadocian region far from the frontier zone led to a more secure position.[59] From the ninth century Cappadocia became one of the important themes of the administrative system.[60] Centralized government control was realized through various officials, and the names of these officials frequently occur in church dedicatory inscriptions, invocations and epitaphs. Various ranks can be found among the inscriptions.[61] These include *magis-*

[59] Haldon, Kennedy, "Frontier," 79-116, esp. 83, 87, 95, 97; Kazhdan, *Derevnia i gorod v Vizantii*, esp. 68-70; P. Lemerle, *Byzantium from the Origins to the Twelfth Century* (Galway 1979) 68-155.

[60] N. Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IXe et Xe siècles* (Paris 1972) 348.

[61] For definitions of the official ranks, see Oikonomides, ibid., 124.

tros, *protospatharios*, *protospatharios* of the golden dining room, *spatharokandidatos*, *domestikos* of the theme, *strategos*, *tourmarchos*, and *taxiarch*.

		TENTH CENTURY
Eğri Taş Kilise	Ihlara	Christopher *spatharokandidatos* *of Tarmachos and Pates*
Pigeon House	Çavuşın	Melias *Domestikos* of the Schools Nikephoros Phokas John Tzimiskes *Domestikos* of the Schools
		ELEVENTH CENTURY
St. Barbara	Soğanlı	Basil *domestikos*
Karabaş Kilise (1020-21)	–	Michael Skepidis *protospatharios*
St. Michael (1025-28)	–	Theophylaktos *protospatharios* and *axiarch*
Karanlık Kilise	Göreme	John *entalmatikos*
Çok Kilise	Soğanlı	John Skepides protospatharios of the golden dining room, consul and strategos

The presence of high and low government officials in church dedicatory inscriptions showed that both ranks supported ecclesiastical foundations in this region. If we consider the loss of many dedicatory inscriptions in the church murals, the actual role of lay patronage was probably quite substantial.

As government officials, many of the people named probably lived in this area or owned estates or properties. The previously cited example from the church of St. Michael in Ihlara provides additional evidence that the monk Arsenios and his son Theophylact the *protospathrios* and *axiarch* had to have had some involvement with this area.[62] Arsenios established his church there together with his son. The Skepides family

[62] Thierry, "Un style byzantine," 46, fig. 1.

also lived or had houses in the village of Soğanlı,[63] and Karabaş Kilise and Geyik Kilise in this village were founded by various members of this family. These churches also include the family graves. Another example are two churches of the eleventh century that were founded by members of the same family near the village of Yaprakhisar in the Ihlara valley. Both churches contained graves, funeral epitaphs, and dates. In Yazil Kilise above the tomb of the donor there is a funeral epitaph which indicates the date (ca. A.D. 1024) and the name of the deceased, Theodoulos.[64] In the Alay Gediği Kilise, also near Yaprakhisar, there is another small, barrel-vaulted, single-nave church containing a tomb in the narthex. The epitaph above the tomb indicates the date and the name of a layman who was the father of the donor of the first church. It might have happened that the father started excavating the church, died, and was buried, and the son then finished the chapel for his father's soul.[65] Thus, having official positions or possessing properties and estates, laity no doubt shared their wealth with the local church communities and established their own family chapels.[66]

The salaries of government officials were much higher than those of the highest rank of clergy. Mango, analyzing this situation, relates an interesting example.[67] An appointment as a bishop in the early tenth century in Sebaste (Sivaş) in Eastern Asia Minor (not far from Cappadocia) paid the modest amount of one hundred *solidi*. At the same time, an appointment as *protospatharios* paid about 3,000 *solidi*. The situation was probably similar in Cappadocia. It is not surprising, then, that the majority of donors were laity. Besides the various ranks of government officials, military people and wealthy families, there was also a class of wealthy villagers and soldiers,[68] who were able to contribute to religious foundations.

In addition to money, monks gained other privileges through their contact with the laity. Among these were legal benefits for the churches,

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[63] The Skepides family is known from the inscriptions in Karabaş Kilise and Geyik Kilise: Jerphanion, II, 334 and 372.

[64] Thierry, "Un style byzantin," 45-61.

[65] Ibid.

[66] Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations*, 143 ff.

[67] Mango, *Byzantium*, 49.

[68] Cappadocia was a military region which included an important road system, fortresses and watch-towers: Haldon, Kennedy, "Frontier," 97.

such as grants of immunity (*exkousseia*),[69] a practice which began in the ninth century but became increasingly popular in the tenth and eleventh. These grants were made available primarily by the emperor, in return for laymen's services. They were important in that they freed various properties and ecclesiastical foundations from taxation. For example, in his typikon of the twelfth century Gregory Pakourianos carefully described in several chapters various grants that he received from the emperor for his monastery dedicated to the "Mother of God of Petritzos" (near the present-day Bulgarian village of Bačkovo).[70] Among them he cites the privileges that helped to free the monastery from state taxation. It is known that many Byzantine monasteries such as the Pantokrator monastery (ca. A.D. 1136), the monastery of Kosmosoteira (ca. A.D. 1152), the Evergetis monastery (11th century), the Iviron monastery on Mount Athos and many others had such grants.[71] Although these church foundations are large, nevertheless the Cappadocian monk Arsenios from the church of St. Michael in Ihlara also might have obtained some benefits through his son the *protospatharios* and *axiarch*. Several joint benefactions of monks and clergy and high officials were deemed profitable in view of the official benefits for church foundations. From the examination of various sources, it is certain that laymen were deeply involved with local monasticism and stimulated the growth of church foundations.

The purpose of patronage was no doubt complex. Scholars have been generally correct in suggesting that donations were given for eternal commemorations of *ktitors* and the salvation of their souls. The funeral epitaphs and invocations clearly express the religious sentiments of the donors. On the other hand, observation of various cases of donations or simply commemorative invocations, funeral epitaphs, and the monuments themselves makes it appear that there were other motivations as well. It is certain that there were instances of occasional outside benefactors, or simply pilgrims who gave money for commemorative prayers for themselves and their families, as well as for social or political events, which were commonly commemorated by the church. Benefactors of this type, however, were probably rare. It seems that most church foundations were supported by local families.

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[69] Mango, *Byzantium*, 52 (see note 67, above).

[70] *Typicon Gregorii Pacuriani*, CSCO, 143/144 (Louvain 1954); *Tipik Grigoria Pakuriana*, 73-81.

[71] Kazhdan, "Monastyr," 68 ff.

The patronage of the Pigeon House church in Çavuşın (ca. A.D. 963-69) is a good example. Scholars have identified the graffiti inscribed near two horsemen on the north wall of this church, as the names of a general, Melias, and John of Tzimiskes (ill. 80).[72] In addition, in the conch of the north apse there is a family portrait group representing the emperor Nikephoros Phokas and the empress Theophano at the center, beside them Theophano's son Basil (?), and next to Nikephoros his father the *caesar* Bardas and his son the *curopalates* Leo (ill. 81). On the basis of the combination of the donor, General Melias, with Nikephoros Phokas and his family, scholars have logically supposed that their representations most likely commemorated the arrival of Nikephoros Phokas in Cappadocia after his successful military campaign in Cilicia in 965.[73] Thus we indeed have to consider the political motivations of the patrons of this church. According to Grégoire, Melias was not a Cappadocian, but his estate was in the theme of Melitene.[74] The question then arises as to how Melias and Tzimiskes, who did not know the region, were involved with sponsoring this church and selecting the place, the clergy and people to be in charge of building the church and painting the murals, including the project to portray the high officials. Explanations can be drawn from the actual representation of the imperial family. What we have here is not simply a portrait of an imperial couple, Nikephoros and Theophano, but also Nikephoros' father Bardas and brother Leo. The whole family was native Cappadocian, the richest noble family of the region, and they must have known their domain quite well.[75] It is known that during Bardas' revolt he went to Cappadocia to bring troops to Constantinople.[76] Thus through the native family, Melias and Tzimiskes could gain knowledge of the location of the village of Çavuşın, as well as make connections with the local clergy.

Although we do not know who the actual donors were, their connection with the Phokas family is quite possible. The representation of Nikephoros, his family, and both of his generals was a gesture to please

[72] Jerphanion, I, 523-525, 529-530. For full bibliography, see Thierry, "Les enseignements historiques," 506 and note 14; eadem, "Un portrait," 477-484 and sch. 1-6.

[73] Thierry, ibid.

[74] H. Grégoire, "Melias le Magistre," idem, "Notes épigraphiques," Byz 8 (1933), 79-88.

[75] On the Phokas family, see note 38, above.

[76] G. G. Litavrin, "Vnutrenniai politika Vizantii vo vtoroi polovine X - pervoi chetverti XI vv," *Istoria Vizantii* (Moscow 1967) II, 215 ff.

the emperor and possibly some of his relatives. Such a benefaction could be realized only on the basis of social ties with the local clergy and families. According to Thomas' study, the majority of private ecclesiastical foundations were established in the Middle Byzantine period,[77] in large part owing to the prosperous economic condition of the laity. Moreover, legislation was also aimed toward an increase in private foundations that belonged to clergy or laity. In this case patrons had to take full responsibility for the various aspects of the financial, social and even liturgical life of their foundations. The above-mentioned typikon of Pakourianos is a typical example of a patron's concern for his property. Examples of such private churches and monasteries are known from literature. The plot of famous poem *Digenis Akritas* takes place close to Cappadocia.[78] According to the poem, the hero, Digenis, had on his own estate a private church where he buried his father, whose body he brought from Cappadocia. A ninth-century novel of Leo VI concerned private founders and, in particular, the rationale for their burials,[79] and in general places of burial for the laity. From several Byzantine typika, such as those of the Pantokrator monastery (ca. A.D. 1136), the monastery of the Kosmosoteira (ca. A.D. 1152), and the typikon of the Evergetis monastery (11th century), it appears that the tombs of the founders were in the church,[80] while the burials of the monks were outside of the church. In the chapter on burial places in Cappadocian churches we already observed the peculiarities of Cappadocian church planning and determined a variety of places for burials, such as the narthex, private chapels, parekklesia, and naves. We also pointed out that from early Christian times until the Middle Byzantine period almost seventy-five percent of churches contained burials of private families, as seen on the basis of inscriptions, funeral epitaphs, and the actual observation of grave sites of children and women.

Dedicatory inscriptions and other sources are not always clear on the subject of patronage. It is impossible to distinguish all the private ecclesiastical foundations belonging to the laity. There were probably a variety of choices: some chapels belonged to monks and clergy, while some were

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[77] Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations*, 111-148, esp. 139-148.

[78] Mango, *Art*, 215-216.

[79] Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations*, 173.

[80] S. Grishin, "Literary Evidence for the Dating of the Bačkovo Ossuary Frescoes," *Byzantine Papers: Proceedings of the First Australian Byzantine Studies Conference*, 17/19 (1978) 91-93.

probably owned by both clergy and laity. In addition, large villages also had parish churches. Nevertheless, several churches belonging to laity can be identified. For example, in the eleventh-century church of St. Daniel in Göreme there is a portrait of a woman *ktitor*, Eudokia, who can be identified by her epitaph (ill. 82).[81] In the narthex of this church ten graves are found, including those of four children. The presence of the *ktitor*'s portrait and the graves of children suggest that it was a family chapel. The early tenth-century Chapel 9 in Göreme was founded by two laymen, Andronikos and Theopistos.[82] The names of their father Gion and mother Agis are mentioned in the invocations. There are many other family chapels, including Chapel 21 (eleventh century) in Göreme, St. Theodore (tenth century) near Ürgüp, Kubelli Kilise (tenth century) in Soğanlı, Karabaş Kilise (eleventh century) in Soğanlı, St. George of Belisirma (thirteenth century) in the Ihlara valley and others.[83] Such *ktitors'* private ecclesiastical foundations were widespread in Byzantium. The above-mentioned Pakourianos typikon expressed the patron's purpose in establishing a monastery. Besides his strong religious desire to make a holy place for a monastic community, his main purpose was to create a burial place for himself and his brother. In his typikon he instructed the clergy as to when the liturgies and commemorative services should be held for him, his brother and members of his family.[84] The general custom of commemorative services must have been similar to that in other Byzantine churches and monasteries. Moreover, Pakourianos undoubtedly expressed the common attitude of donors in establishing their own church foundations. In donating money for churches and monasteries, laity expressed their religious piety and personal need, but in supporting monks and clergy they also showed their prosperity. These purposes grew naturally, from the reciprocal relationship of monks and laity in Byzantine society.

Thus the nature of the relationship between the laity and the monks and clergy was based on geographic, religious, economic, and social factors. Living near monastic communities, the laity no doubt had close contacts with the local clergy and monks. Many had family members

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[81] Jerphanion, I, 172-176, esp. 173-174.

[82] Jerphanion I, 122.

[83] For Chapel 21, see Jerphanion, I, 475; for St. Theodore, see ibid., II, 178-47; for Kubelli Kilise, see ibid., II, 275-295; for Karabaş Kilise, ibid., II, 333-360; for St. George, see Thierry and Thierry, *Hasan Dağı*, 201-213.

[84] *Typik Grigoria Pakuriana*, 7, 77, 89, 105.

among the monks and clergy. Family events, family patron saints' days, births and deaths had to be celebrated in the churches and monasteries. Giving money for his own church foundation or simply to the monastic community or individual hermit, the sponsor was guided by all the above-mentioned motives. After Iconoclasm there was a growth of strong religious piety and development of monasticism, especially in the country estates and rural areas,[85] as is clearly seen in the case of Cappadocia. In the tenth and eleventh centuries monastic spirituality happily coexisted with the political, administrative, economic and family structure of Byzantium. It is during this period that the majority of the ecclesiastical foundations were established. After the conquest of Anatolia by the Turks in 1071, Christian communities were cut off from their Byzantine motherland and underwent serious political and economic devastations that we must examine separately.

The patronage of Cappadocian ecclesiastical foundations of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries has not been thoroughly studied, owing to the scarcity of material. About twenty churches can be attributed to this period, and they have usually been considered to be of lesser artistic quality then those of the preceding epoch. Art historians have naturally focused their attention on the period of the highest artistic production in this region. Because the majority of frescoes in the churches of this period have not been cleaned, it is difficult to discuss the quality of their style. For our purposes, however, it is important that the surviving churches of this period continued to develop the long-standing local architectural and artistic tradition. The survival of this tradition is due to Christian activity in this former Byzantine domain. Therefore, in order to understand the existence of the ecclesiastical foundations in the occupied Turkish territory, one must investigate their economic resources and their patronage. Elucidating these bases will help to clarify the legacy of Cappadocian communities as well as Byzantine policy toward their ecclesiastical foundations in the occupied territory.

The twelfth century was a period of serious destruction and of the fall of the Byzantine state in Anatolia.[86] After the battle of Mantzikert in 1071 the collapse of the strategic, economic and administrative system of Cappadocia altered the condition of the local Christian communities. Scholars recorded that at the end of the eleventh and first half of the twelfth century, more than seventy-five towns and villages in Anatolia

[85] Ruggieri, *Architecture*, 91-134.

[86] Vryonis, *Decline*, 118-130.

underwent serious devastation.[87] One has to imagine, then, that with the disappearance of the administrative system of the Byzantine theme, Cappadocia lost its governmental control, which operated through the various officials whose names we often noted in church inscriptions from the ninth to the eleventh centuries. With the loss of major military and civil officials, local landowners, and wealthy villages, the church lost its financial supporters and parishioners. In addition, the disappearance of the leadership of the Byzantine state and the Orthodox church in Cappadocia led to the depression of Christian life.

Very few churches can be attributed to the twelfth century in Cappadocia. Nevertheless, Christians still survived and continued to live in the monasteries and monastic dwellings in this area. According to Vryonis, during this period the percentage of Christians vis-à-vis Muslims in Anatolia was still high.[88] Moreover, he recorded the survival of the Christian cultural heritage in the hands of the Christian craftsmen, especially jewelers, who worked side by side with the Muslims.[89] As for Cappadocia, information is scarce on the presence of Christians in some of the church communities. We do not have any evidence of newly constructed churches in the twelfth century. Fortunately, several dated church frescoes of this period testify to the continued presence of Christian communities.

One of the twelfth-century paintings is found in the niche above the side altar in the church of St. Eustathius in the Göreme valley.[90] This church was excavated and painted some time in the middle of the tenth century. To the north of the central apse of the south nave of this church there is an altar with a semicircular niche above. A painting of the Annunciation is in the background of this niche, and a military saint, Theodore, is added to its south side wall. An inscription near the figure of the Virgin mentions the name of the donor, deacon Theodoulos, and the dates 1142-1149.[91] This painting program shows that this church had additional fresco commissions in the twelfth century. Because the donor was a deacon, this church must have had other clergy members as well. The church of another monastery, Eski Gümüş, near Niğde, also received

[87] Ibid.

[88] S. Vryonis, "Patterns of Population Movement in Byzantine Asia Minor 1071-1261," *Studies*, VI, 3-19.

[89] Ibid.

[90] Jerphanion, I, 167; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 112-117, with bibliography, and pl. 70.

[91] Jerphanion, I, 167; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 112-117.

a new painted program in the twelfth century.[92] The church and monastic dwellings were founded some time in the eleventh century. Its murals, however, have been attributed to different periods. The decoration of an apse is dated to the end of the twelfth century; the painted program above an arcosolium niche in the north wall and the painted panel in the western wall of the narthex are dated to the eleventh century. The frescoes in the central apse seem to belong to the beginning of the twelfth century. They are related stylistically and iconographically to a group of Georgian churches from Svaneti, such as the church of the Archangels and St. Kirik and Ivlita in Lagurka (ca. A.D. 1112), and St. George in Nakipari of the same period.[93]

Twelfth-century graffiti found in some of the churches also attest to their continued use. In the eleventh-century Chapel 17, in the Göreme valley, Jerphanion found graffiti dated to 1055, 1065, 1074, and finally 1129.[94] The last graffito was a funeral epitaph inscribed above an arcosolium niche. The continuous progression of dates obviously confirms that this church was used by Christians in the twelfth century. The number of paintings and inscriptions in this period is very limited, but even these scarce materials are significant, for they prove the continuity of Christian life in this former Byzantine province.

The thirteenth century has been considered a period of revival of artistic activity when new churches were commissioned. Indeed, we are fortunate to have several churches dated by inscriptions to the beginning, the middle, and the end of the thirteenth century. The earliest group of three churches belongs to the first decade of this period. The commissioning of these churches and fresco programs speaks for the economic stability of Christian nobles in a Turkish society. The earliest church of this group, Karş Kilise in Gülşehir, has donor portraits in the niche of its narthex,[95] including a portrait of a noblewoman named Irene, with her two children, Isak and Maria (?), at her sides. The dedicatory inscription below the conch of an apse of this church mentions the reign of Theodore I Lascaris, an emperor of the kingdom of Nicaea.[96] The second

[92] Gough, "Preliminary Report," 147-161.

[93] Kh. Aladashvili, G. Alibegashvili, and A. Volskaia, *Rospisi khudoznika Tevtore v Verchnei Svanetii* (Tbilisi 1966) figs. 38, 39.

[94] Jerphanion, I, 488-491.

[95] Jerphanion, II, 1-16, Plates III, pl. 145 ff; Lafontaine-Dosogne, "Nouvelles notes," 122-127.

[96] Jerphanion, II, 1-16.

church of this group, the church of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste (Sivaş), near Söviş, has a dedicatory inscription that includes two donor monks, Makarios and the monk-artist Aetios, and the date (ca. A.D. 1216-17);[97] it also mentions the reign of Theodore Lascaris. The third church, an octagon in Sivaş, has frescoes that, according to a dedicatory inscription, were commissioned by John Doukas Vatatzes, a successor of Theodore Laskaris (ca. A.D. 1222-1254).[98]

The occurrence of imperial, noble and monastic patron names and their portraits is an interesting phenomenon, because it manifests the legal and financial condition of the Christian communities in the occupied territory. First, the presence of Byzantine emperors' names in the dedicatory inscriptions attests that Christian patrons were loyal to their Byzantine emperors.[99] This shows that Christian nobles held a secure enough position in the Turkish service to enable them to establish church foundations. This also depended on the warming of the Byzantine-Turkish relationship during the Nicaea period.[100]

The recapture of western, southern and northern Asia Minor by the Byzantine army and the establishment of the new states of Trebizond, Konia and Nicaea in the early thirteenth century brought considerable hope to the Christian communities in exile.[101] On the other hand, the Byzantine-Turkish relationship during this period remained friendly on both sides.[102] The Byzantine Empire, diminished in size and power, needed the Turks for protection of their territories from the Latins and the Tatars. As for the Turks, they also needed the Byzantines' friendship in order to protect their lands from the Latins and especially the Tatars, who stood closer to their territories and often caused terrible disruption of their villages and towns. In the middle of the thirteenth century there were many Byzantine soldiers in the service of the Turkish army: even one of the members of the Lascaris family fought against the Mongols

[97] Jerphanion, II, 156-174, esp. 158-159; Lafontaine-Dosogne, "Nouvelles notes," 136 ff.; Schiemenz, "Sobessos-Zoropassos," 207-238.

[98] Jerphanion, II, 2-5, 391, 425.

[99] Vryonis, "The Byzantine Legacy and Ottoman Forms," *Studies*, XIII, 253-308; idem, "Another Note on the Inscription of the Church of St. George of Belisirama," ibid., VII, 11-22.

[100] Vryonis, "The Byzantine Legacy and Ottoman Forms," XIII, 253-308.

[101] P. Charanis, "On the Social Structure and Economic Organization of the Byzantine Empire in the Thirteenth Century and Later," BS 12 (1951), 129-133.

[102] O. Turan, "Les souverains seldjoukites et leurs sujets non-musulmans," *Studia Islamica*, I (1953), 65-100; Vryonis, *Decline*, 194-216.

during the reign of Sultan Ruki-ad-Din Kilich-Arslan IV (ca. A.D. 1257-87).[103] The presence of family patronage during this time further emphasizes the economic stability of Christian society.

Churches founded during the middle and second half of the thirteenth century illustrate the similar condition of the Christian communities under the Seljuks. From the middle of the thirteenth century we have the church of St. Theodore Stratelates in Güzelöz (Mavrucan) dated 1256-57.[104] Nothing, however, is known about its donors. The patronage of the late thirteenth-century church of St. George of Belisirma further shows the adaptation of the Christians to the Turkish occupation.[105] An official portrait of a Georgian princess, Tamar, and an emir, Basil, a Christian in Turkish service, is painted on the south wall of this church. A dedicatory inscription reveals the social status of each donor and the date 1282-88. In the portrait Emir Basil holds a cross and Princess Tamar holds a model of a church. They flank an image of St. George, patron saint of this church. Interestingly, Princess Tamar is depicted holding a model of a masonry church, whereas in fact the church of St. George is rock-cut. Moreover, representations of donors with the model of a church are not found among the rock-cut churches in Cappadocia. This custom, however, was widely practiced in the portraits of *ktitors* in Byzantium, the Balkans, Russia, and, in particular, Georgia. In Georgian frescoes, in almost every donor portrait one finds masonry church models.[106] Therefore Princess Tamar, according to her Georgian tradition, ordered her portrait in this manner. According to Vryonis, the Christian Emir Basil was well-established among the religious and intellectual circles of the Seljuk court.[107] Vryonis also recorded frequent intermarriage between Christians and Turks, especially among the noble families. Islamization of the Christian population also contributed to their integration

[103] Vryonis, ibid.

[104] Jerphanion, II, 236, 237, and 391; Lafontaine-Dosogne, "Nouvelles notes," 136.

[105] Thierry and Thierry, *Hasan Daği*, 201-213, fig. 49; Lafontaine-Dosogne, ibid., 148-154; Vryonis, "Another Note on the Inscription of the Church of St. George of Belisirama," *Studies*, VII, 11-22.

[106] Princess Tamar is represented, for instance, with a model of a built church in the twelfth-century rock-cut church in the monastery at Vardzia, Georgia. For this and other examples of donors with the model of their church in Byzantine and Georgian churches: G. Alibegashvili, *Svetskii portret v grusinskoi monumental'noi zivopisi* (Tbilisi 1979) figs. 1, 16, 17, pls. 2, 4, 5, 42, 43, 45, 50, 57, 61, 62, 66.

[107] Vryonis, "Another Note on the Inscription of the Church of St. George of Belisirama," *Studies*, VII, 11-22.

into Turkish society. It is during the Seljuk period that Byzantine patronage had its last significant impact on the architecture and decoration of this region.

Female Patrons

Women's names in dedicatory inscriptions, funeral epitaphs, invocations and donor portraits point to the extensive patronage of lay women. Although portraits of women or their dedicatory inscriptions have been recorded by art historians, the role of female patrons — nuns and wealthy parishioners — has not been considered in scholarship. The role of women, however, is one of the crucial points in understanding the social structure of the local church foundations and the nature of their relationship with the laity.

Scholars recently have directed their attention to the position of women in Byzantine society. Accordingly, historians of Byzantium have begun to search the past in order to understand how the female donor was incorporated within the social, economic, spiritual, and family structure of Byzantine society. Since the primary concern of scholars has been with nuns in nunneries, we still know very little about women's role as lay patrons of ecclesiastical foundations. Several scholars have presented evidence on the extent of nuns and nunneries in Byzantium. Janin, in his studies of Byzantine monasticism, has demonstrated that, of the thirty-one monastic typika dating from the eleventh to the fourteenth century, only seven belonged to nunneries,[108] five in Constantinople and two in the provinces. Talbot, dealing with the question of Paleologan nuns and nunneries, also concluded that monks greatly outnumbered nuns.[109] Our knowledge of the number of nuns and nunneries cannot, however, rely only on studies of typika or hagiographical sources. In addition, a vast body of materials has survived, including documents on church dedications and *ktitors'* portraits in church murals. These materials are often overlooked by historians. The evidence of women's attitudes toward ecclesiastical foundations in Cappadocia can provide us with additional information on the social history of the Byzantine provinces. In speaking of women, we are primarily concerned with their role as patrons of

[108] R. Janin, "Le monachisme byzantin au moyen-age," REB XXII (1964) 36.

[109] A.-M. Talbot, "Nuns and Nunneries of Palaeologan Constantinople," *Seventh BSC Conference. Abstracts* (Boston 1981) 4; eadem, "A Comparison of the Monastic Experience of Byzantine Men and Women," GOTR 30/1 (1985), 1-20 and esp. 18-20.

ecclesiastical foundations and their general attitude as laypersons, nuns or parishioners.

Statistics reveal only twenty-two women patrons from the ninth until the thirteenth century. Compared to the general figure on lay patrons, they represent approximately one-third of the group. Their distribution within each century is in proportion to the numbers we observed for the monks and clergy and laymen patrons.

Lay Female Patrons

8th-9th century	- 2
10th	- 10
11th	- 14
12th	- 1
13	- 4
TOTAL:	31

From these calculations it is clear that women's involvement as *ktitors* and patrons with church foundations falls particularly within the tenth and eleventh centuries. This phenomenon parallels the patronage of monks, clergy and laymen. The Cappadocian province, after the Byzantines reclaimed it from the Arabs in the ninth century, enjoyed (as did many other Byzantine provinces in Asia Minor) security and increasing wealth for almost two centuries. The women of noble or wealthy families in this Byzantine domain, as in the other regions of Byzantium, were active as patrons. It is difficult to compare the general percentage of women patrons in various Byzantine provinces, because no work on this subject exists. Nevertheless, simply by observing the women donors' portraits or the dedicatory inscriptions in church murals and mosaics in Constantinople, Greece, Russia, the Balkans and Georgia, it appears that noblewomen were active in the sphere of patronage throughout Byzantium. The patronage of women in the countryside did not differ much from that in the urban centers.

The absence of women and of male patrons in the sources of the twelfth century is similar, reflecting political and historical circumstances after the Turkish conquest of Cappadocia. With the revival of Christian life under the Turks in the thirteenth century, we again find women donors among various patrons of this region. Thus, the presence of women alongside monks, clergy and laymen in various periods of Cappadocian history reflected the general political condition of this domain.

In the long span of Cappadocian history various groups of women patrons can be distinguished. All women patrons can be divided into individual donors and wives. So far we can identify only two nuns among the portraits and inscriptions in Cappadocian churches. One of them, Catherine, is depicted in the niche in the north wall of Karabaş Kilise (1060-61) in Soğanlı.[110] In the dedicatory inscription of this church she is mentioned as a *ktitor*, along with Michael Skepides, *protospatharios*, who is identified as her husband. The portraits of three female figures, probably daughters, suggest that she retired as a nun when she grew old. The second nun, Eudocia, probably a daughter of Catherine, is portrayed in the arcosolium niche together with Catherine in the other church, Çanavar Kilise (1060), in the same village.[111] These isolated examples of nuns found in this area indicate that nunneries probably did exist but there were far fewer of them. Judging from the names of the donors the church of Eğri Taş was probably a family church. The same can be applied to the chapel of Karabaş Kilise. This seems to agree with information supplied by Janin and other scholars on the nuns and nunneries in Byzantium.

The majority of women appearing in the sources belonged to the local elite or local wealthy families. Most of them were represented with their husbands and children as manifestations of family patronage. Appearing with their husbands, this group of women shared with them their social status and wealth. Even among the outside benefactors we find an empress, Theophano, who was depicted with the emperor Nikephoros Phokas and other members of their family.[112]

Likewise, noble Cappadocian ladies appeared in family portraits in church murals. For example, in the church of Eğri Taş (early tenth century) in the Ihlara valley a noblewoman, Helena, was portrayed on the south wall near the apse.[113] As a counterpart, Christophoros, a *spatharokandidatos* of Spadiata and Pates (a region near the Taurus mountains), was represented to the north of the apse. In the early tenth-century

[110] Jerphanion, II, 334-339; Lafontaine-Dosogne, "Nouvelles notes," 134; Restle, *Wall Painting*, III, pl. XLVIII, 202.

[111] Jerphanion, II, 363; Lafontaine-Dosogne, "Nouvelles notes," 133; Restle, *Wall Painting*, III, I. and ill. 465.

[112] For the Phokas family, see note 38 above. See also Restle, Wall Painting, III, figs. 303, 328. For St. John in Çavuşin, see Schiemenz, "Stifter," 133-173; Thierry, "Les enseignements historiques," 506 ff. and fig. 1.

[113] Thierry and Thierry, *Hasan Daği*, 42-44, fig. 9; Lafontaine-Dosogne, "Nouvelles notes," 167-170.

Chapel 9 in Göreme, dedicatory inscriptions mention Theopistos, Andronikos and their father, Gion, and mother, Agis.[114] Agis is described as a member of the family. The combination of husband and wife *ktitors* occurs in the portraits and inscriptions in the ninth-century Karşi Beşak, the eleventh-century chapels of Chapel 33, the chapel near Kılıçlar, and Chapel 21, all in Göreme, the eleventh-century Ayvalı Kilise, the eleventh-century Karabulut Kilise and Basilica in Selime, and the thirteenth-century St. George in Belisirma (ill. 83).[115]

These are instances of large family portraits which include children. In the eleventh-century basilica in Selime a noble lady and her husband and six children are represented on either side of the figure of the Virgin, who is depicted blessing the husband and wife (ill. 57).[116] Although the names of the donors are lost, their richly decorated garments indicate their high family position. Moreover, Lafontaine-Dosogne correctly compared the iconography of this family portrait with the imperial portrait of Prince Jaroslav in the eleventh-century Hagia Sophia in Kiev. In the eleventh-century Karabaş Kilise the family portrait is more complex.[117] The nun, Catherine, is represented with her two daughters in the niche in the north wall. Her third daughter is depicted near St. Michael, a patron saint of Michael Skepides, possibly her father.

In several cases women's names or portraits occur together with their children but without spouses. In the tenth-century Belli Kilise in Soğanlı there is a funeral epitaph: "Here rests Philikiane, the mother and the son."[118] In the pavement of this church there are two graves, a large one and a small one for a child. These graves are true testimony that the mother and her son were both buried in this church. In Karş Kilise (ca. A.D. 1212) in Gülşehir there is a portrait in the niche in the narthex of a lady, Irene, with her two children beside her.[119]

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[114] Jerphanion, I, 122.

[115] For the dating of Karabulut Kilise, see Thierry, "Usüf Koç Kilisesi," 122. Representations of the donors in this chapel have not been published. See fig. 96 of this study.

[116] Lafontaine-Dosogne, "Kale Kilisesi," esp. 748-753, and fig. 5 on p. 752.

[117] See note 110 above.

[118] Jerphanion, II, 295.

[119] Restle, *Wall Painting*, I, 167, 168; III, ills. 468, 470(Z).

Besides women as wives of the laity, wives of clergy also can be found. The invocation in the apse in the Tavşanlı Kilise (913-920) belongs to the wife of a deacon of this church.[120] Although the name of this woman is not given, the context of this inscription makes clear that this chapel was not a monastic dwelling. This church is small, just big enough to include the family. It is located seven kilometers from the village of Ortahisar, a village with a medieval rock-cut castle and Roman tombs which suggest its ancient origin. The remoteness of this church indicates that it could not have been a village chapel but rather probably belonged to a clergy or lay family. The early tenth-century Karabaş Kilise also bears some evidence of the presence of a priest's wife.[121] A portrait of the priest Bathystrokos and his two sons is identified by an inscription (fig. 34). Their pictures are located in the north and western walls of the far south chapel in this church. Bathystrokos's wife is not mentioned in the inscription, but at the same time there are four graves in the pavement of this chapel and a fifth one, for an infant, is elevated above the floor on the south wall. This chapel is located far from the main church and was obviously used as a family funeral chapel. The presence of the priest's children makes clear that the priest Bathystrokos had a wife, who was probably buried in the same chapel.

Some funeral epitaphs and related burial tombs also suggest that women belonged to parish churches and lived within this area. In the funeral chamber of the above-mentioned church of Eğri Taş, there is a funeral epitaph above an arcosolium in the south wall: "Here rests the servant of God, Irene. She was distinguished by her perfect life. She died ..."[122] This epitaph of Phelikiane and her son, as well as the presence of their graves in the Kubelli Kilise in Soğanli, also implies that this woman belonged to the parish of this church.[123] The painted decorative program, funeral epitaph, and the tomb in the eastern wall to the north of an apse in Chapel 3 in Güllü Dere are evidence of the grave of a girl who was probably a daughter of a layman.[124]

Although scarce, evidence of women patrons and members of some parishes is nevertheless significant. It reveals the complexity and pluralism of local church foundations and the laity. Although we do not have

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[120] Jerphanion, II, 98 (137).

[121] See note 110 above.

[122] Thierry and Thierry, *Hasan Daği*, 69 and inscription No. 6.

[123] Jerphanion, II, 295.

[124] Lafontaine-Dosogne, "L'Église aux trois croix," 199-200.

information on nunneries in this region, they undoubtedly existed. For example, the ninth-century *Life of St. Irene* tells us that this noble Cappadocian lady became a nun when she was twenty.[125] Nevertheless, from statistics it is certain that the major role of women was family patronage. Even those women represented without their husbands in many cases were probably widows. Some individual women *ktitors* can be found, but they are a minority. It is known that although women often distinguished themselves in public life as saints or martyrs, in general their activities were restricted to the family circle.[126] In a recent study Eva Topping has showed that patristic literature prepared solid foundations for the subordinate position of women in Byzantium.[127] Discussing the life of Byzantine women, Kazhdan has shown that most of the time they stayed at home with their children and family and rarely left their houses.[128] Access for women to some men's monasteries was restricted, the monasteries of Mount Athos being a famous example. The *ktitor* Pakourianos in his typikon prohibited women even to come close to his monastery or to build any houses nearby.[129] Women were allowed to enter the church only on feast days, and when inside they had to stay in the back of the church.[130] Therefore, whether in the city or in the village, the duty of women was concentrated around the family or a church. It seems that it is precisely this attitude toward women that Cappadocian provincial society shared with Byzantine society as a whole. In spite of the considerable loss of dedicatory inscriptions and donor portraits, the evidence of women's presence as patrons and parishioners of the local communities testifies to the existence of local families who were a large source of economic support for the monastic foundations. Moreover, the presence of family tombs in almost seventy percent of churches, including graves of women and children, provides strong evidence for the continuous rela-

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[125] Stavrakas, *The Byzantine Provincial Elite*, 90, 92, 103.

[126] Kazhdan, Constable, *People and Power*, 20, 63, 72-75, 112-113; Mango, *Byzantium*, 65,125-127.

[127] E. C. Topping, "Patriarchal Prejudice and Pride in Greek Christianity. Some Notes on Origin," *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* I/1 (1983) 7-14.

[128] See note 126 above.

[129] *Typik Grigoria Pakuriana*, 108.

[130] Taft, *The Great Entrance*, 199-200; The mid-twelfth-century typikon of the monastery of the Virgin at Kosmosoteira in Thrace allows women into the church three times a year (the Nativity, the Annunciation, and the Dormition): L. Petit, ed., "Typikon du monastère de la Kosmosotira près d'Aenos (1152)," *Bulletin de l'Institute Archeologique Russe à Constantinople* 13 (1908), 17-75, esp. 60-61.

tionship between the laity and the monks and clergy. Significantly, the presence of women in the churches as patrons and parishioners indicates that monks were not isolated from the life of the local society. A good example of this relationship is illustrated by the *Life of St. Theodore of Sykeon*, who lived as a monk in a rock-cut chapel near a village that was located near Ankara in Asia Minor in the seventh century.[131] Although he lived an ascetic life, his mother and other women from the family often brought him food and visited him in his chapel in the desert. It seems that similar situations probably obtained in Cappadocia in its various historical periods. Therefore women, who provided strong contacts between the local families and monks, can be considered a bridge between the civic and monastic life in the social pattern in this region.

3. Appendix

The appendix includes lists of 1) clergy and monks, and 2) lay donors organized by church in chronological and alphabetical order.

1) List of Monk and Clergy Donors

a) 8th and 9th centuries

1. St. Basil (Hagios Basileios), Mustafapaşa (9th century)
Presbyter Constantine (inscription)
Bibliography: Jerphanion, II, 109-111; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 184-186, with bibliography; Teteriatnikov, "St. Basil," 99-114.

2. Chapel 6, Güzelöz (Mavrucan) (?9th century)
Deacon George (inscription)
Bibliography: Jerphanion, II, 229.

3. Derin aere Kilisesi (Merdiven Kilisesi), Mustafapaşa (9th-10th century)
Monk (portrait)
Bibliography: Schiemenz, G. P., "Jacobsbrunnen im tiefen Tal," OCA 204 (1977), 155-180; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 189-191, with bibliography.

4. Karşi Becak, Avcılar (?8th-9th century)
Presbyter X, monk X (inscriptions)
Bibliography: Jerphanion, I, 510; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 70-71, with bibliography.

5. St. Niketas the Stylite, Kızıl Çukur (?8th-9th century)
Monk Niketas (portrait, inscription)

[131] Dawes, Baynes, *Saints*, 94, 156 ff.

Bibliography: Schiemenz, "Die Kapelle," 248-249; Thierry, "Les enseignements historiques," 507; Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, 187-189; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 53-56, with bibliography.

6. St. Stephen (Hagios Stephanos), Cemıl (?8th-9th century)
Presbyter Basil, deacon Basil (inscriptions)
Bibliography: Jerphanion, II, 154-155; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 161-163.

b) 10th century

7. Balli (Ballik) Kilise, Soğanlı (10th century)
Presbyters: X, Constantine (inscriptions)
Bibliography: Jerphanion, II, 269-270.

8. Chapel 4 (Ayvalı, St. John), Güllü Dere (ca. A.D. 913-920)
Monk Makar (inscription)
Bibliography: Thierry and Thierry, "Ayvalı Kilise," 97-154; Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, 211-213; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 263-265, with bibliography.

9. Eğri Taş (Panagia Theotokos) (funeral chamber), Peristrema valley (10th century)
Presbyters: Peter, Constantine (?) (inscriptions)
Bibliography: Thierry and Thierry, *Hasan Daği*, 67, 70, pls. 26a, 37.

10. Karabaş Kilise, Soğanlı (10th century)
Abbot Bathystrokos, monks Bardas, Photios, ? Kosmas, Roustiakos, Zacharias (portraits, inscriptions)
Bibliography: Jerphanion, II, 333-360; Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, 197-203, figs. 37, 38; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 266-270, with further bibliography.

11. Kubbelli Kilise 1 (Belli Kilise 1, Holy Apostles) (big cone), Soğanlı (10th century)
Monk Stephen (inscription, portrait)
Bibliography: Jerphanion, II, 294; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 263-265, with bibliography.

12. Church of Panagia (Haçi Ismail Dere 2), near Mustafapaşa (10th century)
Presbyter Damian (inscription)
Bibliography: Jerphanion, II, 115; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 193-194.

13. St. Symeon, Zelve (10th century)
Monk Symeon (inscription)
Bibliography: Jerphanion, I, 414-418, 552-553; Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, 192-193; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 7-12.

14. Tavşanlı Kilise (St. Eustathius), near Mustafapaşa (10th century)
Presbyter Constantine, deacon X, monks: Stephen, Michael
Bibliography: Jerphanion, II, 78-99; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 182-184, with discussion and further bibliography.

15. Yılanlı Kilise, Peristrema (10th century)

Presbyter Cosmas
Bibliography: Thierry and Thierry, *Hasan Daği*, 91.

c) 11th century

16. Chapel 10 (St. Daniel), Göreme (11th century)
Presbyter X, monk X (inscriptions)
Bibliography: Jerphanion, I, 172-176; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 112-117, with bibliography.

17. Chapel 18, Göreme (11th century)
Monk Ignatios (inscription, portrait)
Bibliography: Jerphanion, I, 486-487; Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, 178; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 121-122, with bibliography.

18. Chapel 20 (St. Barbara), Göreme (11th century)
Presbyters: Presbyter X and Falibon (inscriptions)
Bibliography: Jerphanion, I, 484-485; Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, 175-176.

19. Chapel 21, Göreme (11th century)
Presbyters: George, Akakios, deacon George
Monks: Ignatios, Athanasios (inscriptions)
Bibliography: Jerphanion, I, 475-478; Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, 182.

20. Chapel 22 (Çarıklı Kilise), Göreme (11th century)
Deacons: George, Basil, John
Bibliography: Jerphanion, II, 458, 470-479; Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, 164-167.

21. Chapel 23 (Karanlık Kilise), Göreme (11th century)
Presbyter Nikephoros (inscription, portrait)
Bibliography: Jerphanion, I, 398; Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, 53-55.

22. Çanavar Kilise (Yılanlı Kilise), Soğanlı (11th century)
Nun Eudokia (daughter of Skepides) (portrait, inscription)
Bibliography: Jerphanion, II, 363; Restle, *Wall Painting*, I, 66, 164-166, III, pl. LXIX; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 271-272.

23. Karabaş Kilise, Soğanlı (ca. A.D. 1060-1061)
Presbyters: Basileios, Niphon, nun Catherine (inscriptions, portraits)
Bibliography: Jerphanion, II, 338-341; Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, 200; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 266-270, with further bibliography.

24. Karabulut Kilise, near Avcılar (11th century)
Monk (portrait)
Bibliography: Thierry, "Yusuf Koç Kilisesi," 205; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 77-80

25. St Michael, Ihlara (ca. A.D. 1055-1056)
Monk Arsenios (inscription)

Bibliography: Thierry, "Un style byzantin," 45-48, fig. 1; cf. Cheynet, "Note sur l'axiarque et le taxiarque," 233-235; Hild, Restle, "Kappadokien," col. 1075; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 299-300, with bibliography.

d) 12th century

26. Chapel 11 (St. Eustathius), Göreme (ca. A.D. 1148-1149, second layer of frescoes)
Deacon George, monk Leo (inscription)
Bibliography: Jerphanion, I, esp. 167; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 112-116, with bibliography.

e) 13th century

27. Forty Martyrs of Sebaste, Şahinefendi (ca. A.D. 1216-1217)
Monks Makarios, Arepha (inscriptions)
Bibliography: Jerphanion, II, 158-159; Lafontaine-Dosogne, "Nouvelles notes," 122-127; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 205-207.

28. St. George, Ortaköy (ca. A.D. 1292-1293)
?Monk (inscription)
Bibliography: Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler*, 143-151; Jerphanion, II, 240-245.

2) *List of Lay Donors*

a) 8th and 9th century

1. Chapel 29 (Kılıçlar Kilise), Göreme (ca. 900)
Donor (portrait)
Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 137-141, with bibliography.

2. Karşi Becak, Avcılar (?8th-9th century)
Niketas, Eudoxia, and their daughter (inscriptions)
Bibliography: Jerphanion, I, 504-510; Thierry, "Matériaux Nouveaux," 318-320; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 70-71.

3. St. Niketas the Stylite, Kızıl Çukur (?9th century)
Eustratios *Kleisourarch* of *Zeugos and Klados* (inscription)
Bibliography: Schiemenz, "Die Kapelle," 249; Thierry, "Les enseignements historiques," 507; Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, 187-189; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 53-56.

b) 10th century

4. Chapel 4 (Sts. Peter and Paul), Balkan Deresi 4 (10th century)
Two donors (portraits)
Bibliography: Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 202, with bibliography.

5. Bahatin Samanliği Kilise (St. Constantine), Belisirma (10th century)
Theodore (portrait, inscription)
Bibliography: Lafontaine-Dosogne, "Nouvelles notes," 147-149; Thierry and Thierry, *Hasan Daği*, 155-173; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 320-323.

6. Eğri Taş (Church of the Theotokos), Belisirma (10th century)
Christophoros *Spatharokandidatos* of Turmachos and Pates, his wife (portraits, inscriptions)
Bibliography: Thierry and Thierry, *Hasan Daği*, 42.

7. Eğri Taş funeral chamber, Ihlara (10th century)
Eirene (inscription)
Bibliography: Thierry and Thierry, *Hasan Daği*, 69.

8. Eğri Taş, N Chapel, Ihlara (10th century)
Female donor (portrait)
Bibliography: Thierry and Thierry, *Hasan Daği*, 71, pl. 36c.

9. Chapel 9, Göreme (10th century)
Andronikos, Theopistos, and their father and mother (inscriptions)
Bibliography: Jerphanion, I, 122; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 109-111, with bibliography.

10. Chapel 3, Güllü Dere (10th century)
Baby girl's grave and epitaph.
Bibliography: Lafontaine-Dosogne, "L'Église aux trois croix," 199-200.

11. Chapel 4 (Ayvalı Kilise, St. John), Güllü Dere (ca. A.D. 913-920)
Theodoros, John, Demna (inscriptions)
Bibliography: Thierry, "Ayvalı Kilise," 128, fig. 20; eadem, *Haut Moyen Âge*, 135-181; Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, 211-213, fig. 41a.

12. Church (inscribed cross), Damsa (10th century)
Donor (inscription)
Bibliography: Jerphanion, II, 181.

13. Church (inscribed cross), Karlik (10th century)
Male and female donors (portraits)
Bibliography: Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 175.

14. Kubbelli Kilise 1 (Belli Kilise 1, Holy Apostles) (big cone), Soğanlı (10th century)
Ioannes, Milarion, Philikiane (inscriptions)
Bibliography: Jerphanion, II, 294-295; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 263-265.

15. Chapel 7 (The New Tokalı Kilise), Göreme (10th century)
Constantine, Leon son of Constantine, Nikephoros (painter) (inscriptions)
Bibliography: Jerphanion, I, 304-309; Epstein, Tokalı, 33-39; Thierry, "La peinture de Cappadoce au Xe siècle," 217-233; Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, 213-222, 250; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 94-96, with further bibliography.

16. Pigeon House, Çavuşın (10th century)

Nikephoros Phokas (the emperor), Theophano (the empress),
Caesar Bardas, *Kouropalates* Leon, Basil, Tzimiskes, Melias (inscriptions, portraits)
Bibliography: Jerphanion, I, 522-530; Schiemenz, "Stifter," 141; Thierry, "Les enseignements historiques," 505-507, figs. 1, 2; eadem, *Haut Moyen Âge*, 43-57; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 15-22, with further bibliography.

17. Tavşanlı Kilise, near Mustafapaşa (ca. A.D. 913-920 or 945)
Deacon's father, deacon's mother (inscriptions)
Bibliography: Jerphanion, II, 98-99; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 182-184, with bibliography.

18. Theodore, near Ürgüp (Pancarlik Kilise) (10th century)
Nikolaos (inscription)
Bibliography: Jerphanion, II, 18-21; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 219-222, with further bibliography.

c) 11th century

19. Ayvalı Köy (Ayvalı), near Ürgüp (11th century)
John, Eustratios (portraits, inscriptions)
Bibliography: N. Thierry, "Á propos des peintures d'Ayvalı köy (Cappadoce)," *Zograph*, 5 (1974) 5-22, figs. 10, 12; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 151-154, with bibliography.

20. Chapel 3, Akhisar (?11th century)
Male and female donors (portraits)
Bibliography: Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 287.

21. Alaygediği Kilisesi, Yaprakhisar (ca. 1023)
Theodoule (inscription)
Bibliography: Thierry, "Études cappadociennes," 186.

22. Balli Kilise, Belisirma (11th century inscriptions) Leontios (inscription)
Bibliography: Thierry, "Études Cappadociennes," 188;
Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 311-313, with further bibliography.

23. St. Barbara (ca. A.D. 1006-1021), Soğanlı
Basileios "Domestikos" (inscription)
Bibliography: Jerphanion, II, 311; Restle, *Wall Painting*, I, 42-45, 160-161; Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, 203-207; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 258-262, with further bibliography.

24. Bezirhane, Avcılar (11th century)
Maistor Niketas (inscription)
Bibliography: Jerphanion, I, 499; Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, 32, 33; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 68-69.

25. Direkli Kilise, Ihlara (ca. A.D. 1025)
Donor (inscription)

Bibliography: Lafontaine-Dosogne, "Nouvelles notes," 144-147; Thierry, *Hasan Daği*, 91; Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, 94; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 323-327.

26. Chapel NW of Kılıçlar, Göreme (11th century)
Nikephoros, George (inscriptions)
Bibliography: Jerphanion, I, 259.

27. Chapel 4c, Göreme (11th century)
Two donors (portraits)
Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 91-92, with bibliography.

28. Chapel 10 (St. Daniel), Göreme (11th century)
Donor X, John, Michael, Nikephoros, Michael, (inscriptions)
Eudokia (portrait, inscription)
Bibliography: Jerphanion, I, 172-176.

29. Chapel 17, Göreme (11th century)
Ignatios, Michael, Kalinike (ca. 1055), Thamotiri
(ca. 1058), Nikephoros (ca. 1065) (inscriptions)
Bibliography: Jerphanion, I, 489-491; Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, 181-182.

30. Chapel 20 (St. Barbara), Göreme (11th century)
Leon Marulines (inscriptions)
Bibliography: Jerphanion, I, 484-486; Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, 175-176.

31. Chapel 21 (St. Catherine), Göreme (11th century)
Harmoloikos (inscription), Anna (portrait, inscription)
Bibliography: Jerphanion, I, 475-478; Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, 182.

32. Chapel 22 (Çarıklı Kilise), Göreme (11th century)
Theognostos, Leon, Michael (inscriptions)
Bibliography: Jerphanion, II, 458, 470-479; Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, 166-167, pl. 153.

33. Chapel 23 (Karanlik Kilise), Göreme (11th century)
John *Entalmatikos*, Genethlios, Bassianos (portraits, inscriptions), four donors X (portraits)
Bibliography: Jerphanion, I, 396, 398; Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, 54-55, 251, fig. 10; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 132-135, with bibliography.

34. Chapel 27, Göreme (11th century)
Michael, Thamades (inscriptions)
Bibliography: Jerphanion, I, 480-481; Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, 172-173.

35. Chapel 28 (Yılanlı Kilise), Göreme (11th century)
Theodoros (portrait, inscription)
Bibliography: Jerphanion, I, 481-483; Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, 173.

36. Chapel 29a (Parekklesion of Kılıçlar), Göreme (11th century)
Two donors (portraits)
Bibliography: Jerphanion, I, 200-201; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 141-142, with bibliography.

37. Chapel 33 (Kılıçlar Küzlük, Maryemana), Göreme (11th century)
Nikantros, Epracha (portraits, inscriptions)
Bibliography: Jerphanion, I, 246-247; Restle, *Wall Painting*, I, 50, 134-135, II, pl. XXV, figs. 279-301; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 143-146, with bibliography.

38. Halaç Manastir Kilise, near Ürgüp, (11th century)
Donor (portrait)
Bibliography: Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 200.

39. Gök (Geyik Kilise), Soğanlı (11th century)
John Skepides (*protospatharios* of the *chrysotriklinion*, *hypatos* and *strategos*)
Jerphanion, II, 372; Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, 250-251.

40. Karabaş Kilise, Soğanlı (layer of frescoes dated ca. 1060-1061)
Michael Skepides *Protospatharios*, Maria, Eirene, Eudokia (inscriptions, portraits)
Bibliography: Jerphanion, II, 333-341; Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, 195-202, fig. 38; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 266-270, with further bibliography.

41. St. Michael, Ihlara (ca. A.D. 1055-1056)
Theophylaktos, *Protospatharios and axiarch* (inscription)
Bibliography: Thierry, "Un style byzantin," 46-48; Cheynet, "Note sur l'axiareque," 233-235; Hild, Restle, "Kappadokien," col. 1075; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 299-300, with discussion and bibliography.

42. Kale Kilisesi, Selime (11th century)
Donor with three sons, female donor with three daughters (portraits)
Bibliography: Lafontaine-Dosogne, "Kale Kilisesi," 741-753; eadem, "Nouvelles notes," 174-176; Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, 73-75; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 331-332, with bibliography.

43. Chapel near Karagedik, Ihlara (11th century)
Donor (portrait)
Bibliography: Thierry, "Études cappadociennes," 187.

44. Chapel 33 (Meryemana), Göreme (11th century)
Nikantros, Eudokia (inscriptions, portraits)
Bibliography: Jerphanion, I, 243-253; Restle, *Wall Painting*, I, 135, II, ill. 300.

45. Karabulut Kilise, near Ürgüp (11th century)
Donor and female donor (portraits)
Bibliography: Thierry, "Yusuf Koç Kilisesi," 205; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 77-80, with bibliography.

46. Usuf Koç, Avcılar (11th century)
Theodoros (portrait, inscription)
Bibliography: Thierry, "Yusuf Koç Kilisei," 205, especially 198; Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, 152-157, fig. 29.

47. Yazil Kilise (ca. A.D. 1024), Yaprakhisar
Son of Theodoule (inscription)
Bibliography: Thierry, "Études cappadociennes," 186.

d) 12th century

48. Chapel 17, Göreme, (ca. 1129)
Female (inscription), name is missing, Niketas (inscription)
Bibliography: Jerphanion, I, 489-491.

e) 13th century

49. Karşi Kilise, Gülşehir, (ca. A.D. 1212)
Isaak, Maria, Eirene (inscriptions, portraits)
Bibliography: Lafontaine-Dosogne, "Nouvelles notes," 122-127; Schiemenz, "Stifter," 166-169; Restle, *Wall Painting*, I, 66, 167-168, III, pl. LI; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 229-230, with bibliography.

50. Octagon, Sivas, (ca. A.D. 1216-1217)
John Doukas Vatatzes, Theodore Laskaris (inscriptions).
Bibliography: Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler*, 249-253.

51. St. George (Kirk dam alti Kilise), Belisirma (ca. 1283-1295)
Emir Basil, Tamar (portraits, inscriptions)
Bibliography: Thierry, *Hasan Daği*, 202-213; V. Laurent, "Note additional. Inscription de l'église Saint-George de Beliserama," REB, 26 (1963) 367-371; Restle, *Wall Painting*, I, 66, 176-177, III, pl. LX.

52. St. George, Ortaköy (ca. 1292-1293)
George and Basil (inscriptions)
Bibliography: Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler*, 143-151; Jerphanion, II, 240-245; Vryonis, "Another note," 11-22.

53. Chapel 1, Yüksekli (13th century)
Male donor (portrait), female donor Skrebonisa (portrait, inscription)
Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises*, 235-237, with bibliography.

CONCLUSION

The liturgical use of Byzantine church buildings cannot be inferred from their architectural design alone. Furnishings, painted decoration, and inscriptions all contributed to shaping the interior of the church and facilitating its devotional and liturgical life. All these components had a bearing upon the meaning and function of each particular spot in the church that was associated with a ritual. The richness and complexity of church planning cannot be understood without considering private and public social and economic factors. The need for a single or multiple sanctuary arrangement, nave furnishings, the design of entrance compartments, and burial places relied heavily on these factors. Art, ritual, and society had an impact on the formation of the local architectural and liturgical tradition.

The arrangement of Cappadocian sanctuaries reveals a striking pattern linked to a particular manner of liturgical performance. Specific features of this pattern allow us to identify the local style and its reflection of the social structure of Cappadocian communities.

Several characteristics of Cappadocian sanctuary planning indicate local trends in terms of both architectural design and function. One is the horseshoe-shaped apse. It is usually furnished as a sanctuary and served as a single bema. This apse-sanctuary concept makes Cappadocian church planning totally different from that of Constantinople or Greece, where the apse was just the eastern end of the sanctuary.

Another distinguishing feature is the location of the prothesis niche outside the bema. Its location suggests a dynamism in liturgical structure, inasmuch as it provides an opportunity for the laity to perform offertory rites near the sanctuary. At the same time, it made visible the Divine Mystery for the faithful, thereby allowing the faithful to be closely involved with the central act of the liturgy. The location of the prothesis niche outside the bema finds no parallel in the churches of Constantinople or elsewhere in Byzantium. In the majority of Byzantine churches the prothesis niche is found in the sanctuary itself. In the case of the large Constantinopolitan cathedrals like Hagia Sophia, the prothesis rite in the early Byzantine period was extremely complex, owing to the use of a special building, the *skeuophylakion*, from which the Holy Gifts were brought to the nave and then displayed on the altar. The presence of the *skeuophylakion* no doubt required a more complex ceremonial proces-

sion in the performance of the prothesis rite. In contrast, the Cappadocian version of this rite was probably rather simple, yet oriented more closely to the faithful.

Finally, multiple sanctuary planning in the same nave of Cappadocian churches prompts questioning of a long-standing theory concerning the function of the so-called prothesis and diakonikon rooms flanking the sanctuary of Byzantine churches. Cappadocian churches do not present any evidence for the existence of such rooms. Single or multiple sanctuary arrangements are a typical pattern for local liturgical church planning. Such a pattern finds parallels in the sanctuary design in churches of the Christian East, and in particular, in churches in Mesopotamia and Coptic Egypt. Because Cappadocia belonged to the Patriarchate of Constantinople, the design of the church sanctuary in this Byzantine province raises a question concerning the functional use of the side rooms near the central sanctuary in the Middle Byzantine churches of Constantinople. As for Cappadocia, it is significant that its sanctuary developed in local church architecture from the Early and throughout the Middle Byzantine periods. Although certain changes in furnishing arrangements occurred, the liturgy carried on in its basic traditional shape. Furthermore, the Cappadocian phenomenon in terms of sanctuary planning testifies to the existence of the evolutionary process in liturgical church planning throughout history. Conservatism in the shape of local liturgy, then, was a major factor in this phenomenon.

Our study of nave planning does not descend to all levels of its function owing to lack of literary sources. Thanks to the rock-cut technique, liturgical furnishings are preserved in their original places, whereas they have disappeared in the majority of Byzantine churches. On the other hand, the study of surviving liturgical furnishings, together with decorative programs, donor portraits, and inscriptions, helps to uncover to some extent what was happening in the naves of local churches. Various types and locations of liturgical furnishings in the nave help visualize some devotional and liturgical rites. The presence of the prothesis niche affected not only the pattern of the prothesis rite, that is to say, the relationship between the prothesis niche and the sanctuary. Principally it affected the movement of the faithful toward the prothesis niche in the nave while they performed offertory rites. Thus, the presence of the prothesis niche in the nave makes the function of the Cappadocian church essentially different from other Byzantine churches in which the prothesis niche is commonly found in the sanctuary itself.

On the other hand, the design and location of the seating places and the water basin indicate that the Cappadocian church naos fulfilled functions similar to Byzantine churches elsewhere. The consistent presence of benches in naves of the local churches provides strong evidence for a tradition of using them during night vigils and, particularly, during the reading of psalms. As Taft pointed out, this tradition of night vigils was born and developed first in monastic communities and then had an impact on cathedral liturgical life as well.[1] Although scarce, surviving examples of rock-cut or brick benches in some Byzantine churches signal the fact that this custom was probably universal for liturgical life in Byzantium.

The use of water basins in Byzantine churches also helps to interpret the function of the Cappadocian examples. The custom of using water in the churches of Byzantium and in those of the Christian East was universal. The Cappadocian versions of the holy water basin can be distinguished by their shape and location, attached to the wall or placed within a niche in a wall. Such locations often had apparent implications for the related painted decorations. The images selected for the decoration of the water basin niche and the nearest wall, then, often were used to express the context of the holy water, through visual recall of how and where water functions in the scriptures.

In dealing with benches or holy water basins it becomes apparent that both types of liturgical church furnishings appeared in Early and Middle Byzantine churches in this area, and thus present evidence for the evolutionary prothesis in the liturgical planning of the naves, as well as for their function and the particular church rites associated with them. Besides these aspects of liturgical structure, one wants to be acquainted with the church inhabitants and their place within the nave according to local custom.

The presence of donor portraits of monks, clergy, and laity including women and children presupposes a complex use of church naves. Cappadocian church naves have a certain distinction in their planning as compared, for example, with Constantinopolitan churches. Early and Middle Byzantine Cappadocian churches had predominantly one-door access. Secondly, Cappadocian rock-cut churches had no galleries like those in the Constantinopolitan churches. This points to the fact that various ranks of clergy, monks and laity had to enter through one and the same

[1] Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours*.

door, and they all had to stay in one undivided space in the naos. Several observations can also be made about the divisions for the faithful within the naos. First of all, the presence of the prothesis niche close to the sanctuary, as well as the arrangements of benches and bishop's chairs in the churches such as in the New Tokalı Kilise or Karanlik Kilise, points to the fact that the clergy were placed closer to the sanctuary. The laity, then, probably had their place following the clergy and the monks. Finally, women were usually separated from men, according to Byzantine custom. Because space in the nave was limited, they might have stood closer to the entrance in the western part of the church. It is interesting to note that most female saints are represented closer to the western part of the naos.

The distinction between social divisions in the church naos of Cappadocia was, then, more or less similar to Byzantine churches elsewhere. Yet, according to the church planning of this rural area, approaching these social divisions was rather more simple than one would expect it to be in the more complex and ceremonial cathedrals of the Byzantine capital.

Entrance compartments of ecclesiastical buildings were closely associated with the devotional and liturgical life of the church. In fact, the function of the church begins with its entrance, where the faithful spent some time in preparing themselves in their prayers before entering the church. Cappadocian entrance compartments were more freely arranged than their counterparts in the church architecture of Constantinople. In observing church planning in the Byzantine capital and in Greece, it is striking that the narthex was consistently used there during Early and Middle Byzantine times. As for Cappadocia, the situation of the narthex was somewhat different. Both the narthex and the porch had significance in the development of local church architecture. In fact, they are often substituted for one another. The porch, however, was predominantly used in the Early Christian period. This links Cappadocia to the church architecture of Syria and Mesopotamia. Climate and close proximity provided similar trends in the architectural structures in both these latter areas. The Middle Byzantine architecture of Cappadocia demonstrates the development of both the narthex and the porch. The frequent use of the narthex during this period seems to demonstrate that Cappadocia was influenced by its popularity in Byzantine churches. In terms of overall development of both entrance compartments, the porch seems to have continuously developed from Early and throughout Middle Byzan-

tine times, whereas the narthex reached its peak use only during the Middle Byzantine period. The choice between narthex and porch was no doubt dictated by the need of each particular parish or monastery. The presence of devotional images, dedicatory inscriptions, and personal invocations in Cappadocian narthexes and porches shows that the entrance was a devotional place before entering the church. One can draw a striking parallel by citing the image of the Pantocrator and the kneeling figure of Emperor Leo VI placed above the central door in the narthex of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople.[2]

Burial places also were a part of daily liturgical and devotional life. The burial places of clergy, monks and laity required daily commemorative prayers and services. The monastic community also took care of their deceased. The presence of grave sites in churches demonstrates that donors and members of their families had to plan the place where they wanted to be buried. This points to the fact that a donor or a clergy member had the choice of selecting a burial place. It is this particular private choice that provided an important impetus for the development of liturgical planning in Cappadocian churches. Thus, the richness in church planning, including double- or triple-nave churches, parekklesia, and private funeral chapels, was in fact often the result of a donor's desire to obtain a private burial chapel. The presence of burial sites in porches, narthexes and naves, however, was also important. They often enriched the nave function by providing a special place where commemorative services were needed. Graves in the narthex or naos walls were also often signaled by decorative programs painted above them. Devotional images or Christological scenes were depicted as intercessors for the deceased or symbols of the resurrection of his soul. Private choice in selection of burial sites in churches, then, had significance in shaping local traditional church types as well as their modifications. In spite of occasional publications and references, we still know very little about how burial traditions affected the development of church architecture throughout Byzantine history, and research on this question has only just begun. The evidence presented for the significance of burial places in Cappadocian church architecture will, it is hoped, lead to further studies of burials in Byzantine church architecture as a whole.

The church has never been isolated from society, the environment, or political and economic factors. The study of the social structure of Cap-

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[2] N. Oikonomides, "Leo VI and the Narthex Mosaic of Saint Sofia," *DOP* 30 (1976) 151 ff, fig. 1.

padocian church communities and their patrons does not, then, stand apart from the study of church liturgical planning. It is an understanding of this social structure that provided this synthesis of art, ritual, and society. It was the local society that provided a dynamic force throughout the historic development of church architecture. Local customs and the connections between local society and the capital, as well as other Byzantine provinces, formed the phenomenon which we call local tradition. All these factors led to an absorption of societal needs and the formation of a concept of local church architecture. While we do not have as much information about the social structure of the Early Christian period in this region, the rich materials preserved from Middle Byzantine times strongly argue that it was a society which was deeply involved in the formation of the local liturgical tradition of church architecture in Cappadocia. It was the society that carried on this tradition thoughout the long life of the Cappadocian region, and was also responsible for modifications and transformations. In contrast to previous views of Cappadocian social structure, this study shows that churches were not simply established in total isolation. Geographically they were close to local roads, villages and towns, and the orientation of their entrances strongly depended upon the road system. The presence of inscriptions, personal invocations, and burial sites of the clergy, monks, and laity, including women and children, points to the complexity of the social structure of local communities. Although monasteries and hermitages can often be distinguished among church foundations, it is clear that they were heavily dependent on and were supported by local families and individual donors. Parish churches or family churches can also be recognized on the basis of inscriptions or by the presence of family burials. A great number of women's portraits, dedicatory inscriptions, and personal invocations are real testimony for the strong presence of family support of monastic communities in this province. The size of monastic communities was often dependent on economic factors. Moreover, the sanctuary arrangements, which in some cases included two, three, or even four altars, were also dependent on the needs of a particular community. The same can be applied to the arrangement of burial sites. The study of the social structure of local communities is very closely connected, then, with understanding the liturgical planning of the sanctuaries, naves, narthexes and porches, as well as burial places. Thus it was the local clergy, monks and laity who planned the projects of church construction.

Finally, Cappadocian data on liturgical church planning can now be seen in the light of long-standing theories on the question of local tradition and the relationship between the provinces and the Byzantine capital, as well as the countries of the Christian East.

First of all, the geographic location of the Cappadocian region at the center of the Anatolian plateau provided easy access, via an ancient road system, to both Constantinople and the countries of the Christian East. This strong military region was important for the manpower of the Byzantine army, and as such it provided political and military ties to Constantinople. In fact, throughout the long history of Byzantium, Cappadocia had strong family connections with the imperial throne. For example, in the sixth century the emperor Maurice was of Cappadocian origin. Similarly, in the tenth century the emperor Nikephoros Phokas was a representative of a rich and powerful Cappadocian family, which provided close ties between the capital and the province for almost two centuries. These political as well as economic factors may explain the basis for the external influences or parallel developments with Constantinople, which are occasionally perceptible in the style of Cappadocian church architecture or decoration.

Regarding church planning, Cappadocian church architecture seems to share more characteristics with the neighboring countries of the Christian East than with the capital. The pilgrimage routes and the strength of the monastic tradition seem to be the bases for architectural and liturgical practices. The multiplication of similarly designed sanctuaries in the same nave in the churches of Cappadocia, Mesopotamia, and Coptic Egypt are very striking examples. On the other hand, the considerable height of the Cappadocian sanctuary above the nave finds its only analogues in Armenian and some Georgian churches. The survival of such archaic elements of sanctuary furnishing as the synthronon in the Middle Byzantine churches of Cappadocia finds parallels again in the Georgian church architecture of this time.

As to their entrance compartments, Cappadocian churches again resemble those in Syria, early Christian Armenia and Georgia. In all of these areas the porch was the predominant element in Early Christian times.

The nave furnishing of the church, with the exception of the prothesis niche, was universally used in both Byzantium and the countries of the Christian East. Cappadocian furniture is distinguished by its local character. Cut within the rock and often painted in accordance with local

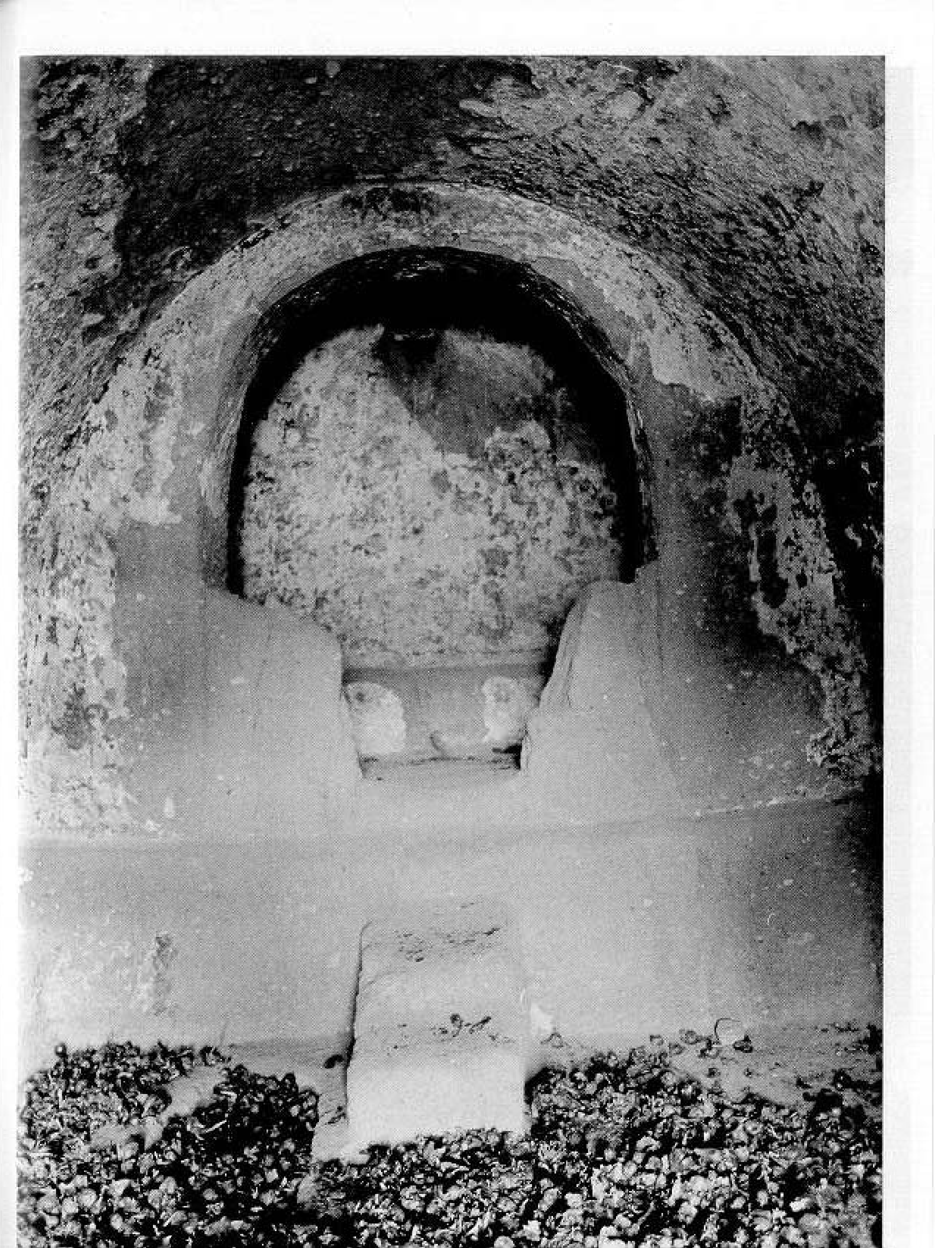
custom, it then developed its local physical appearance and traditional local forms.

In summing up the specific characteristics of the Cappadocian architectural tradition, we arrive at the conclusion that this area presents a liturgical pattern which can be recognized as Cappadocian. This architectural pattern inevitably provided a setting for a local liturgical shape. As for the visual perspective, it lets us recognize, at least to some degree, the general pattern of the liturgical performance. It is also significant that the roots of this architectural and liturgical tradition go back to early Christian times. The survival of this tradition in the Middle Byzantine Cappadocian church presupposes the existence of genetic phenomena in church architecture and liturgy that enable us to turn our visual perceptions toward new avenues for further study of this cultural area and of the architecture of other Byzantine provinces. This pattern enables us to grasp the specific character of the Cappadocian church and its function.

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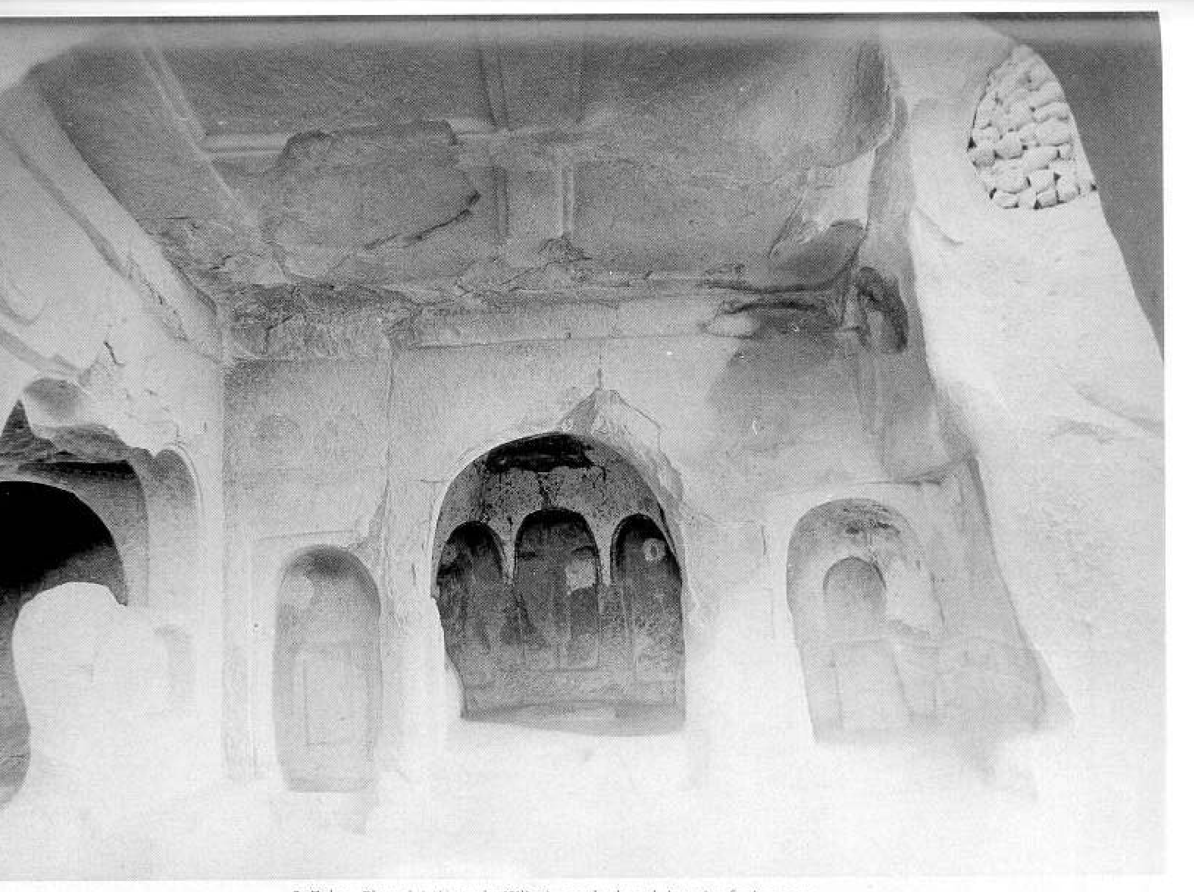


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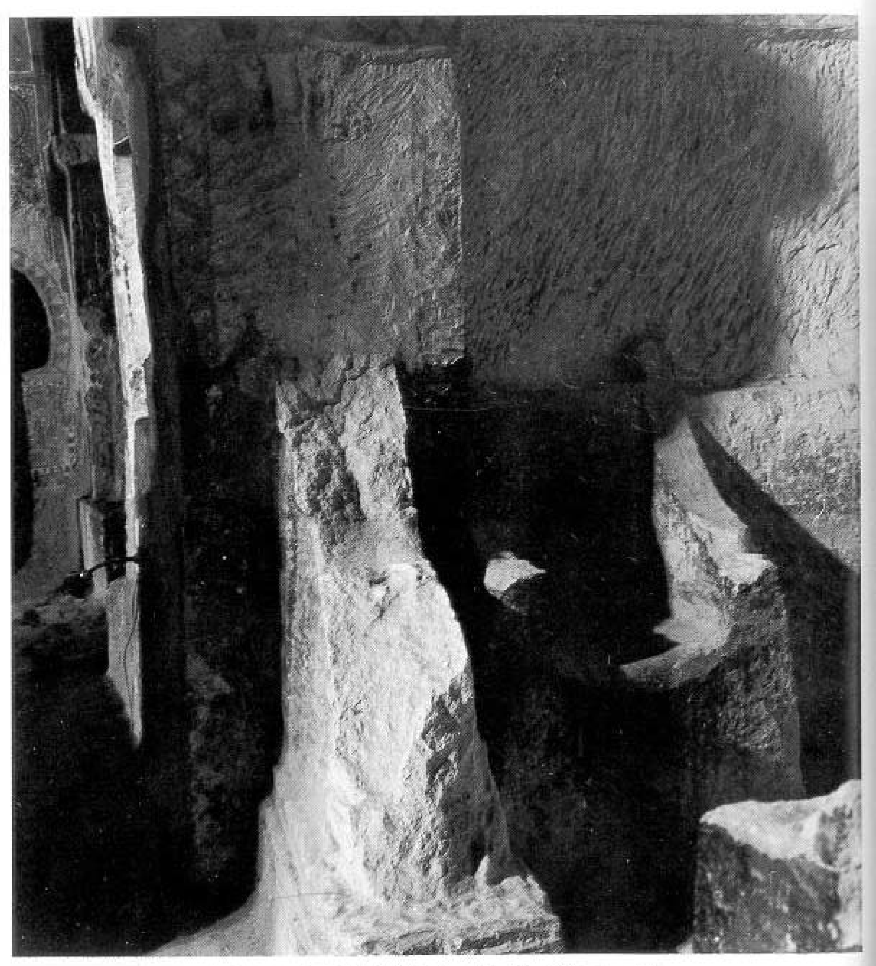
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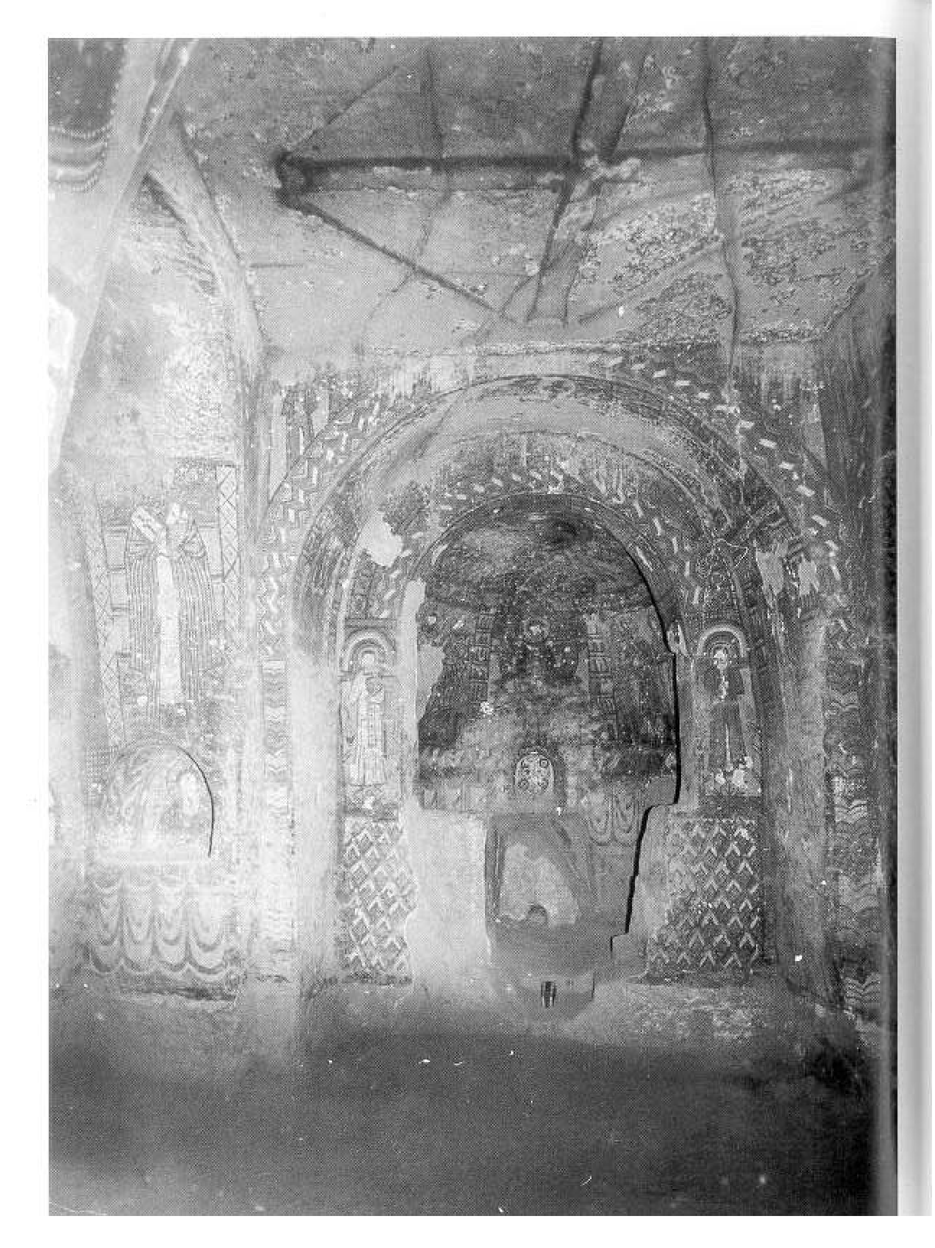
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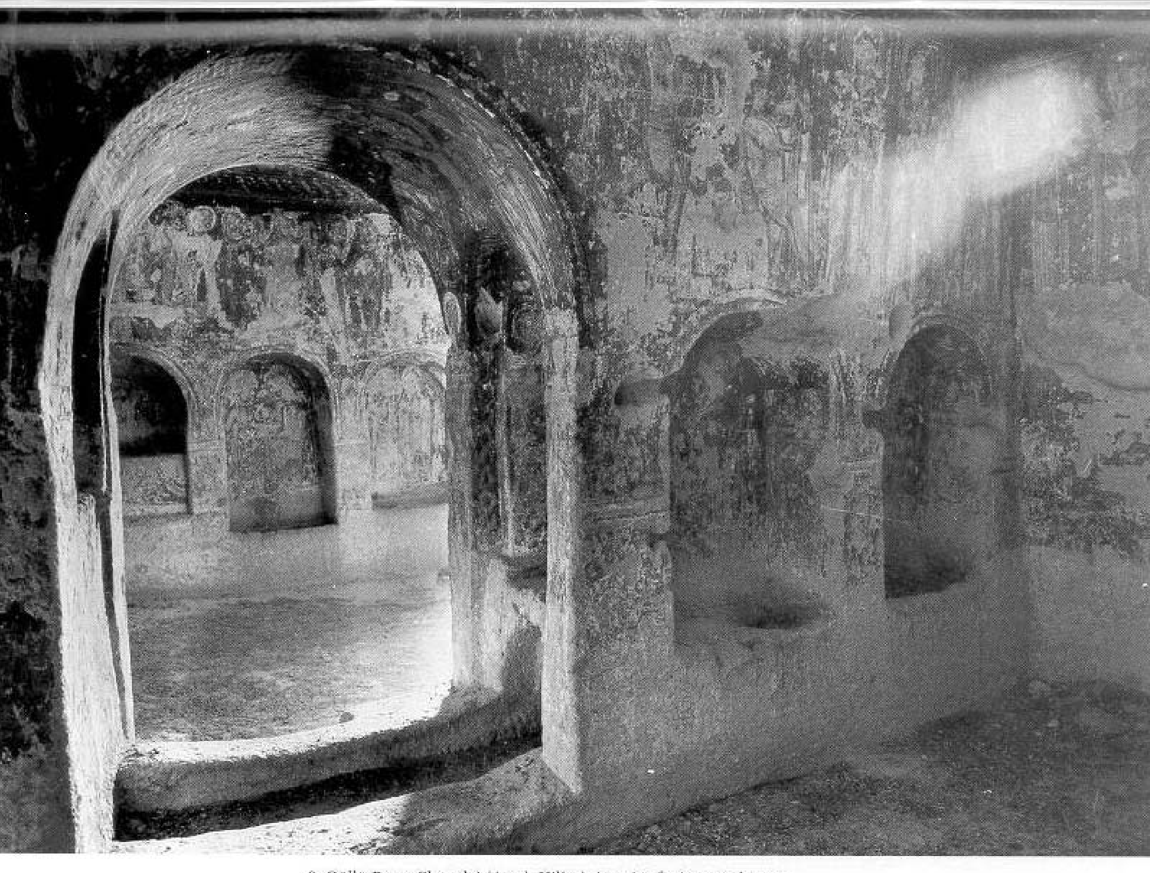


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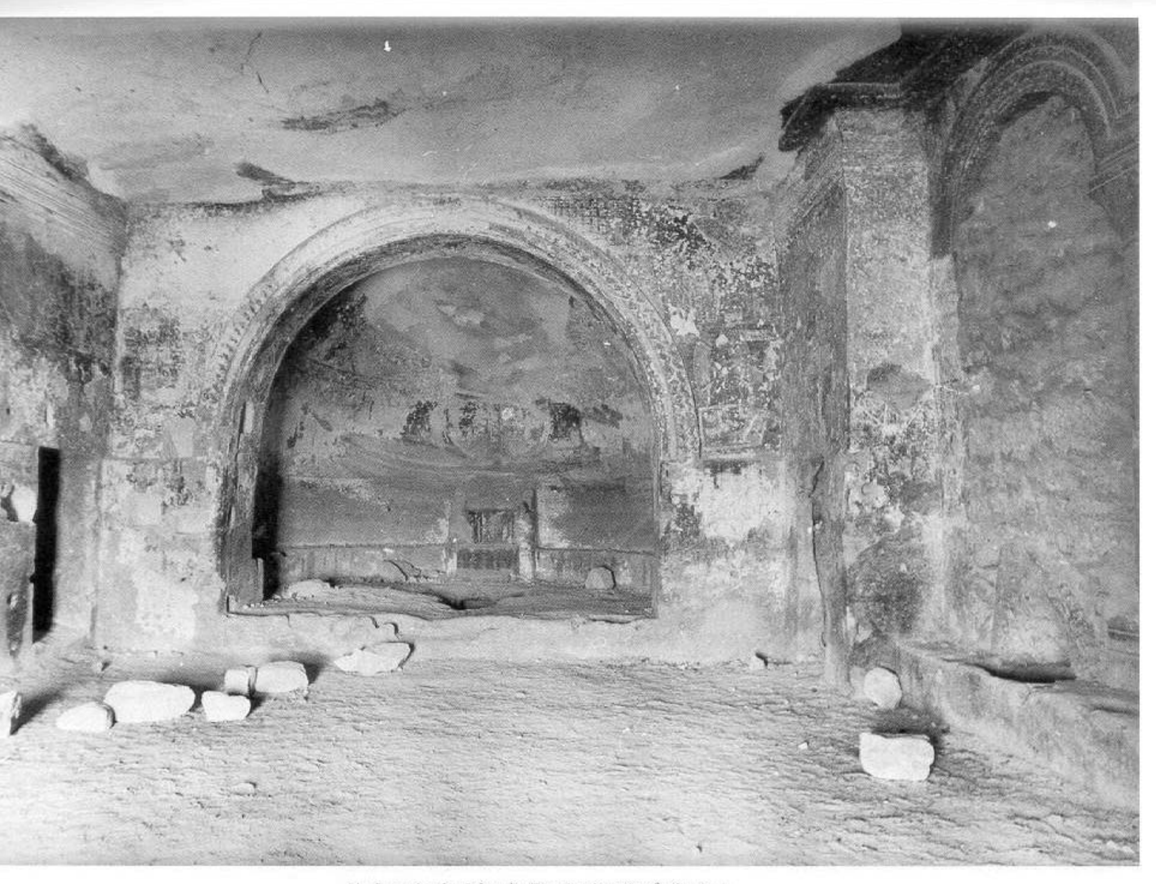




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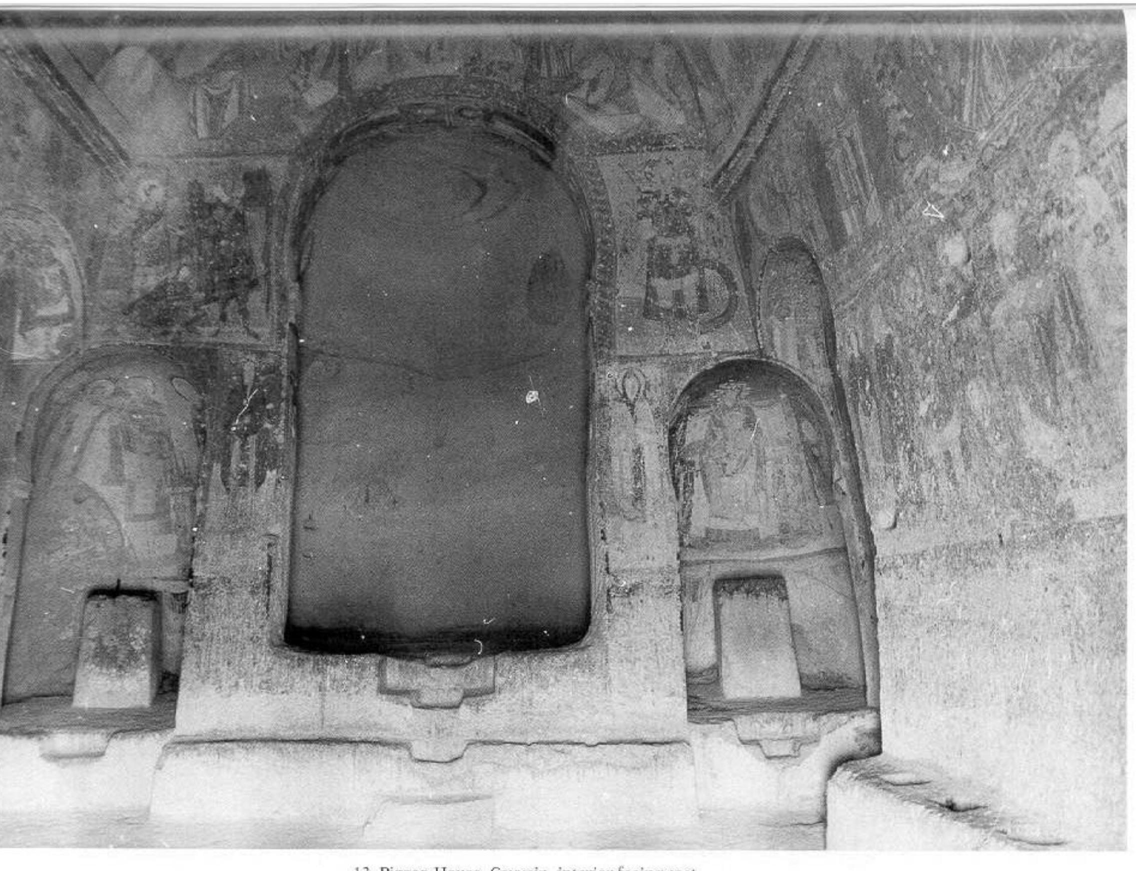
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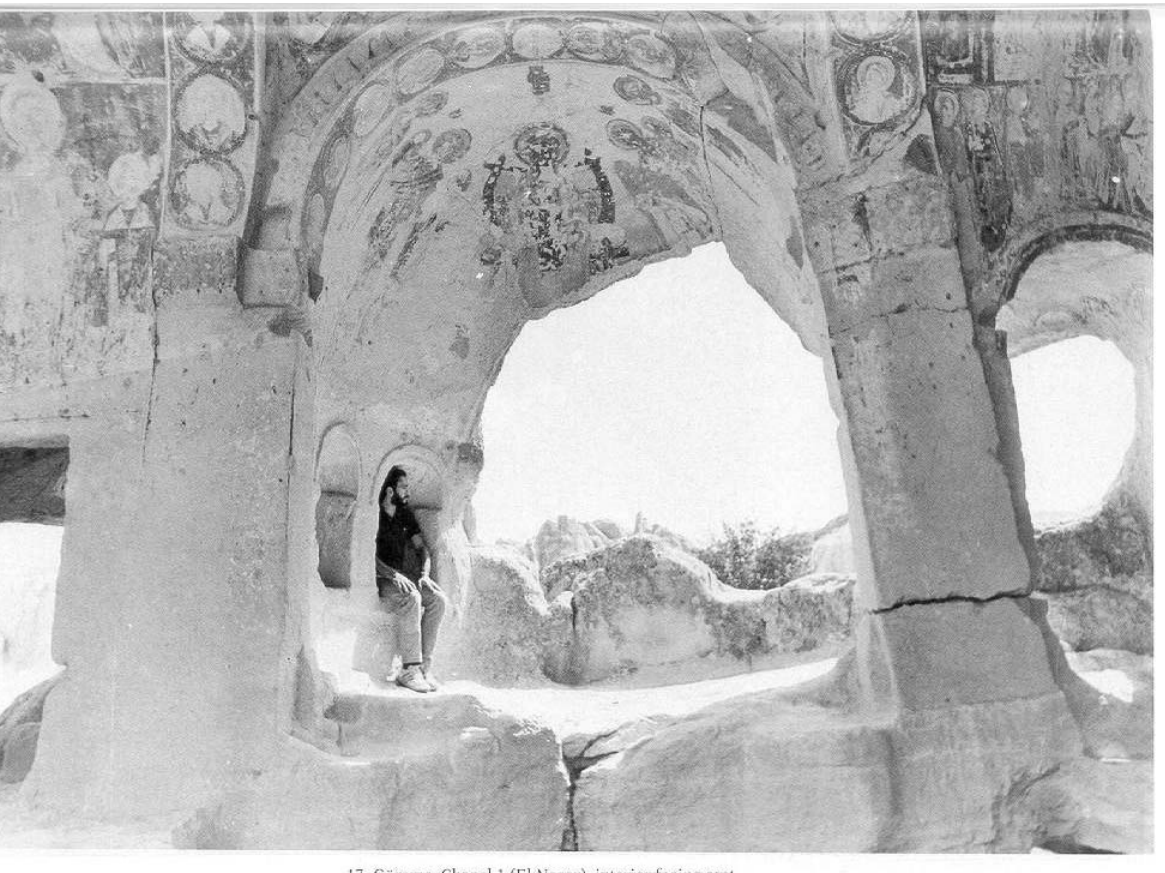
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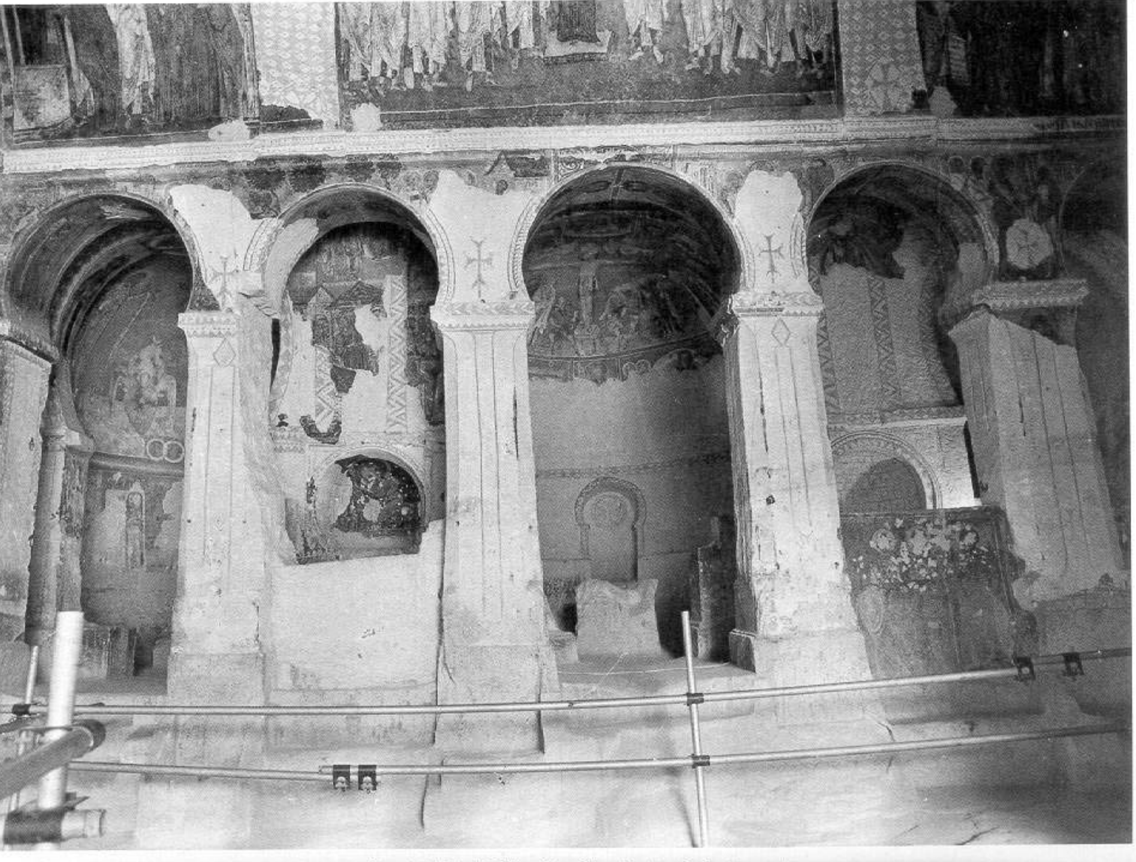


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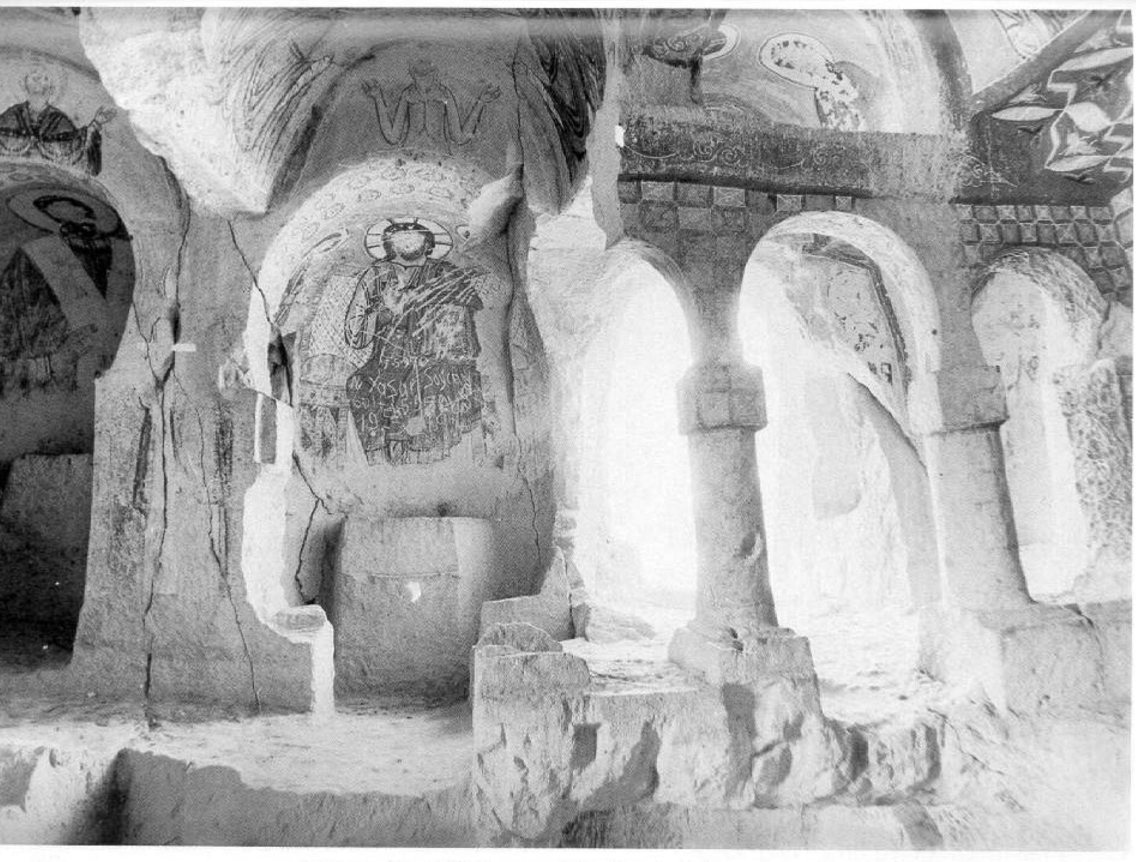
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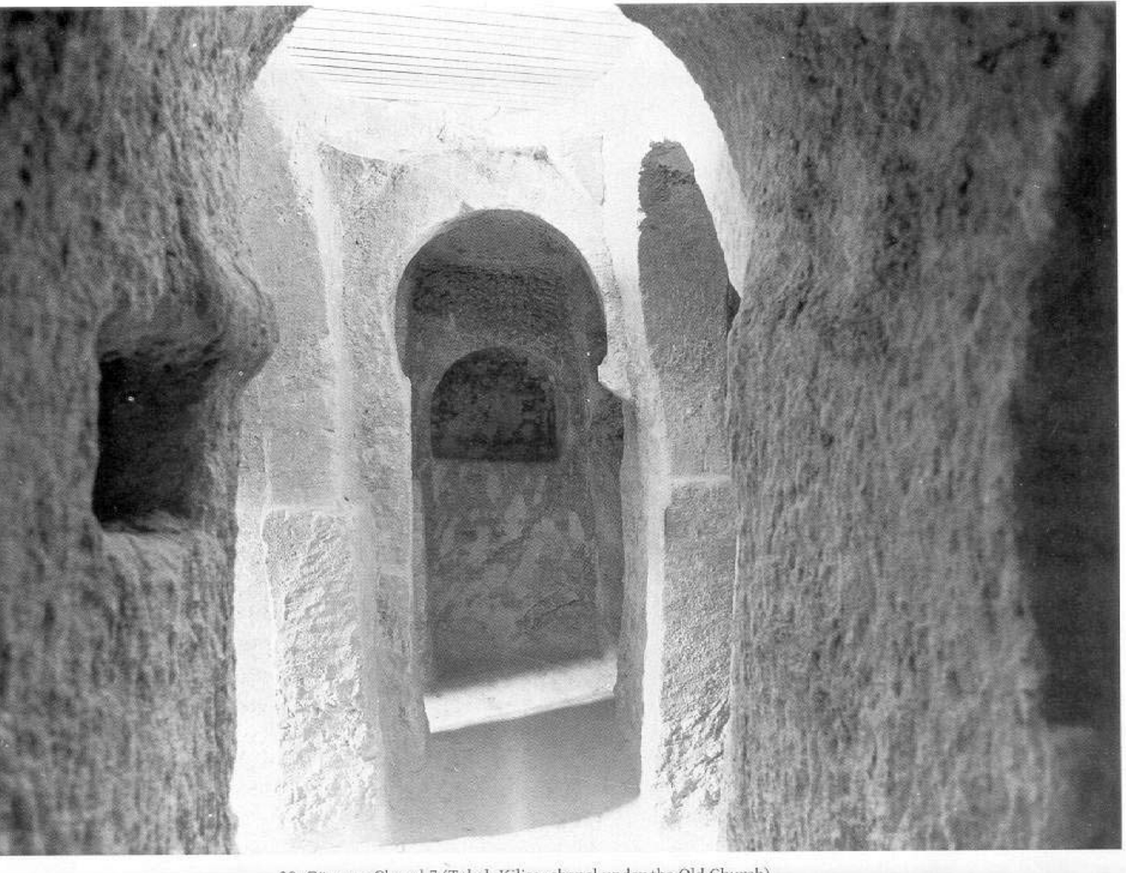
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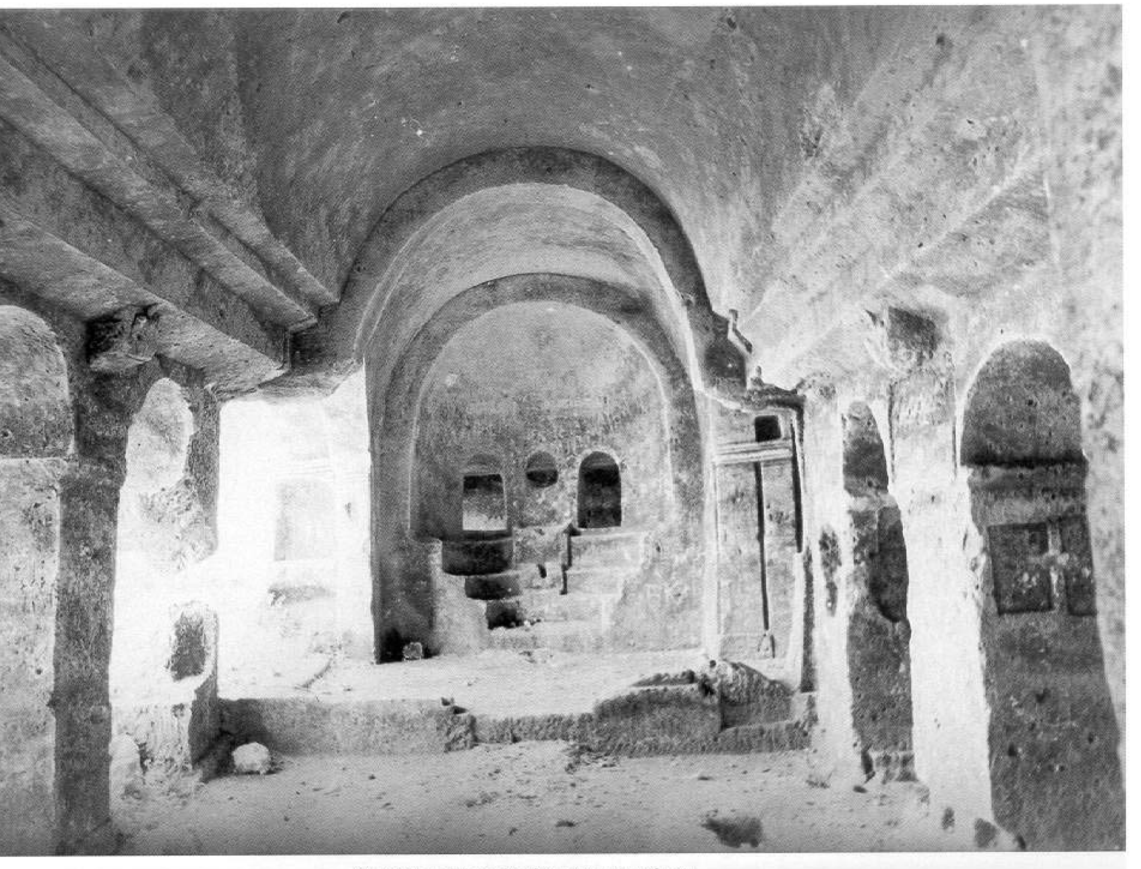
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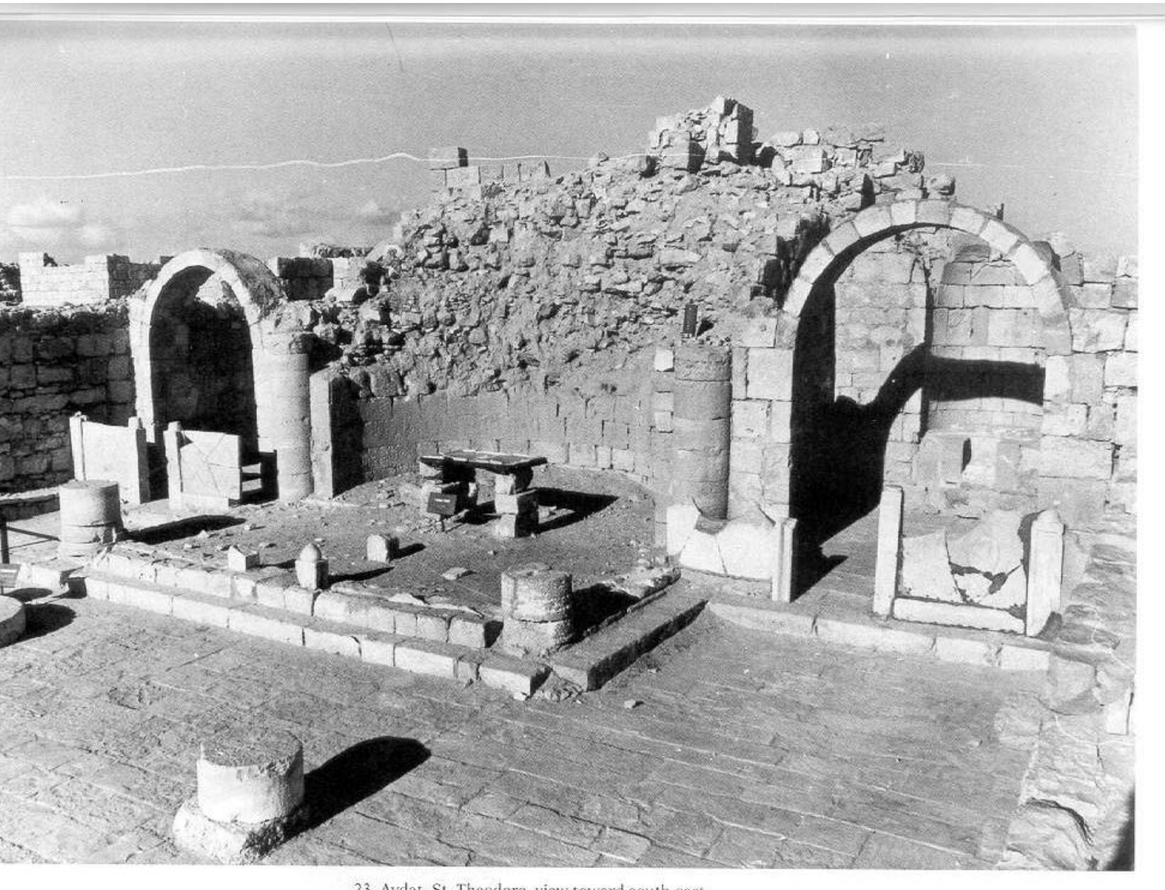
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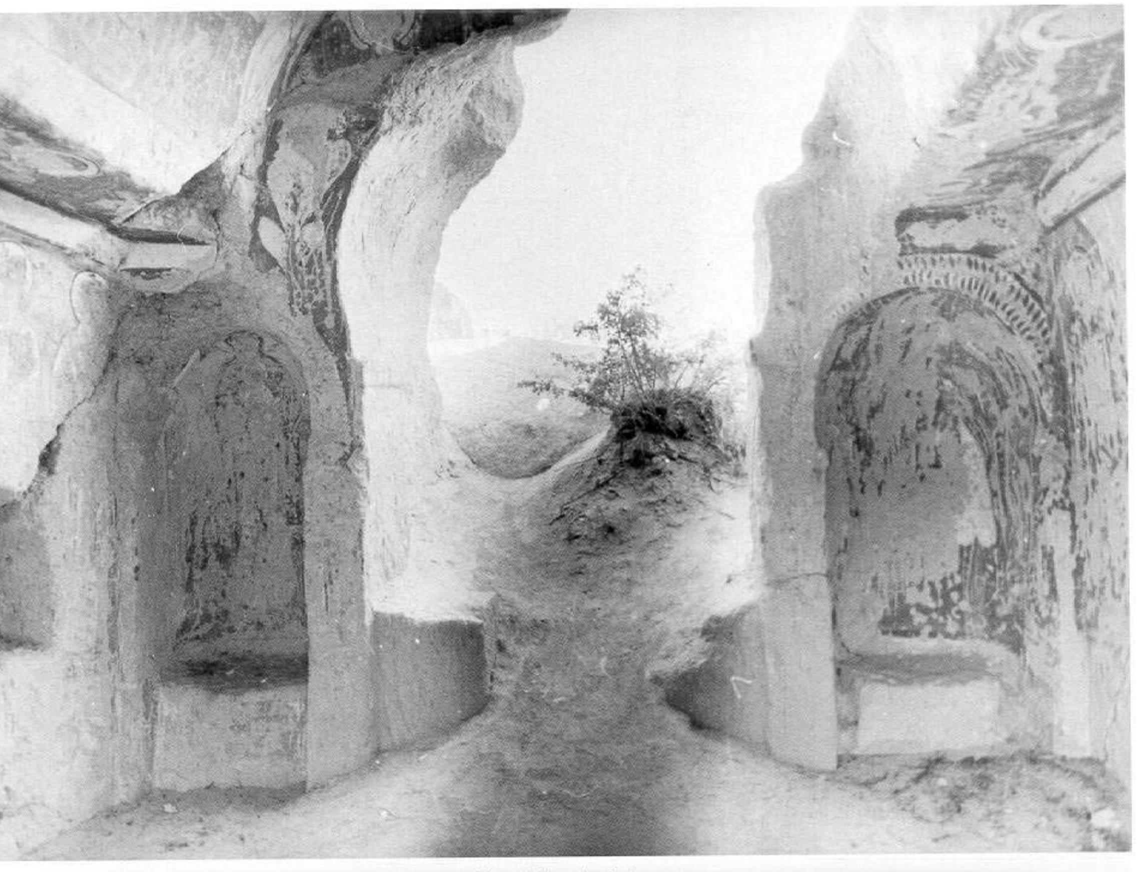
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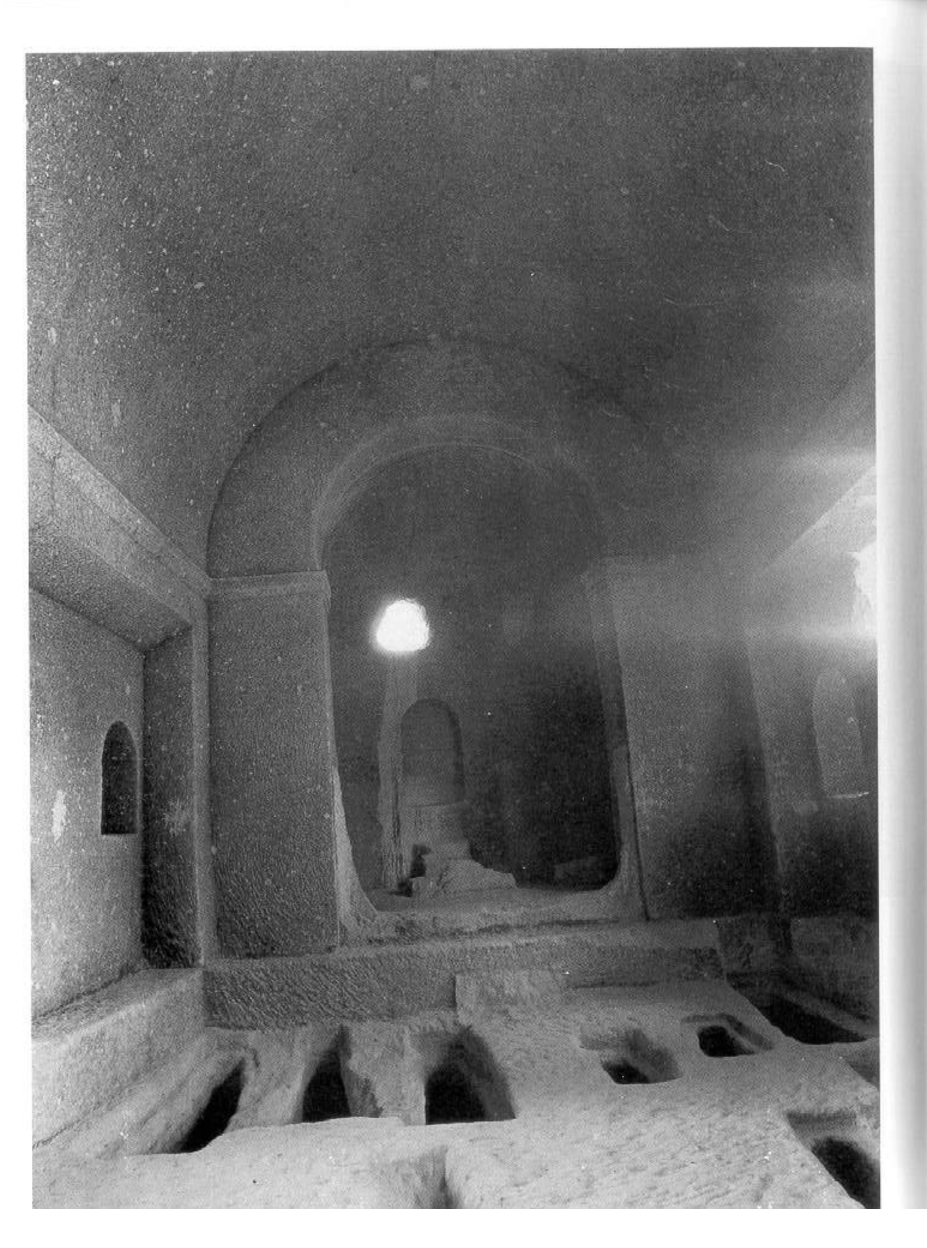
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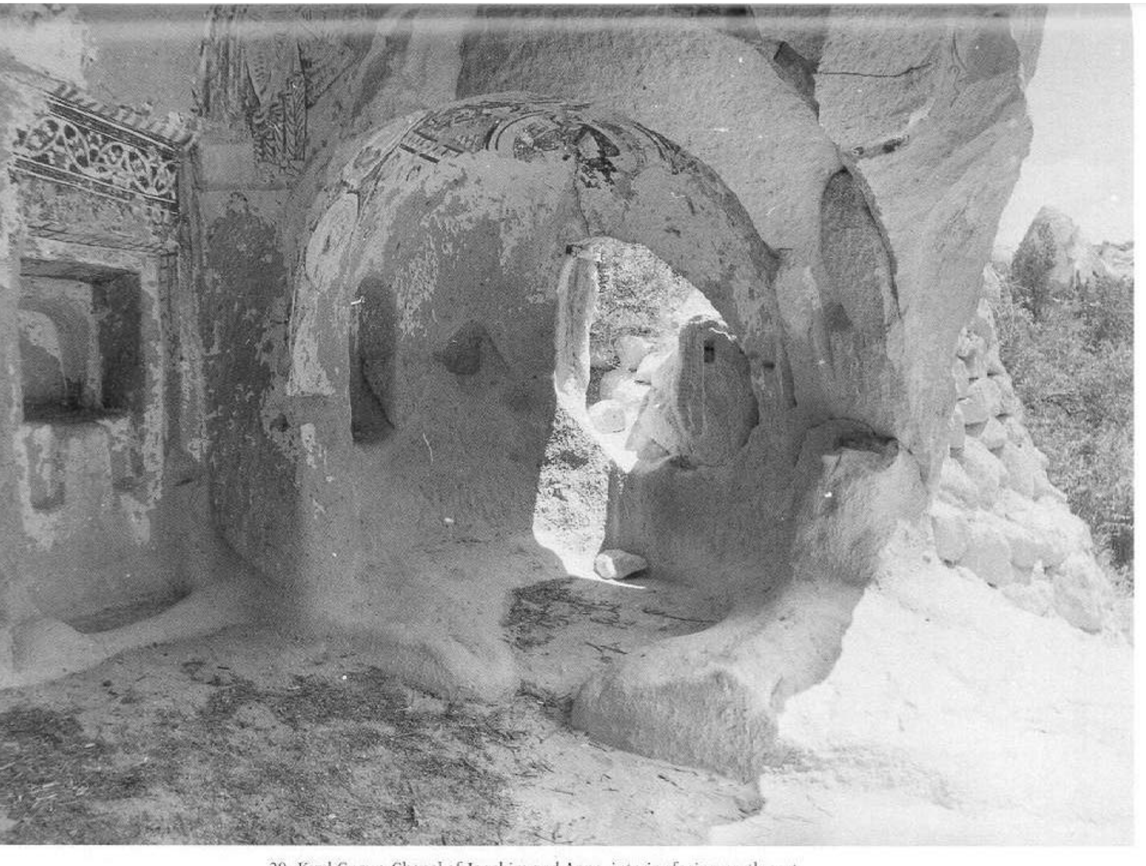


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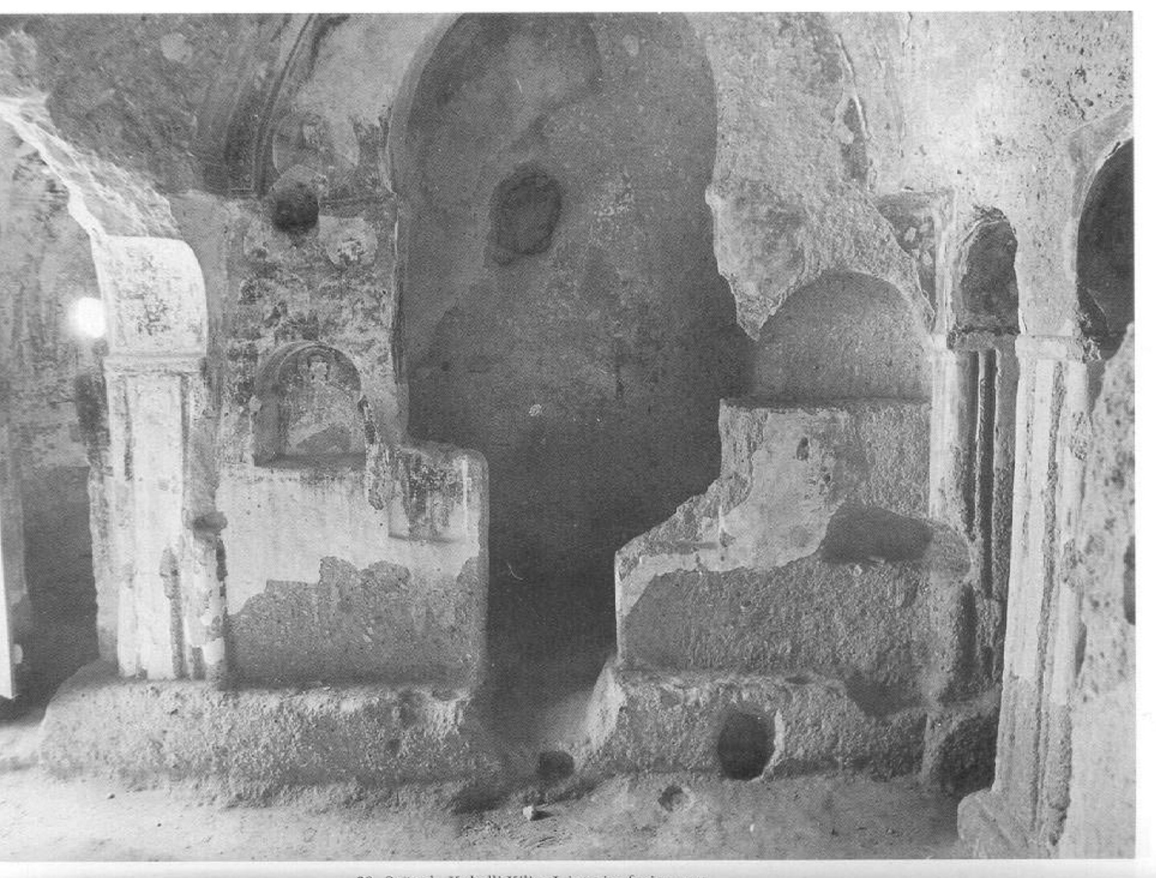


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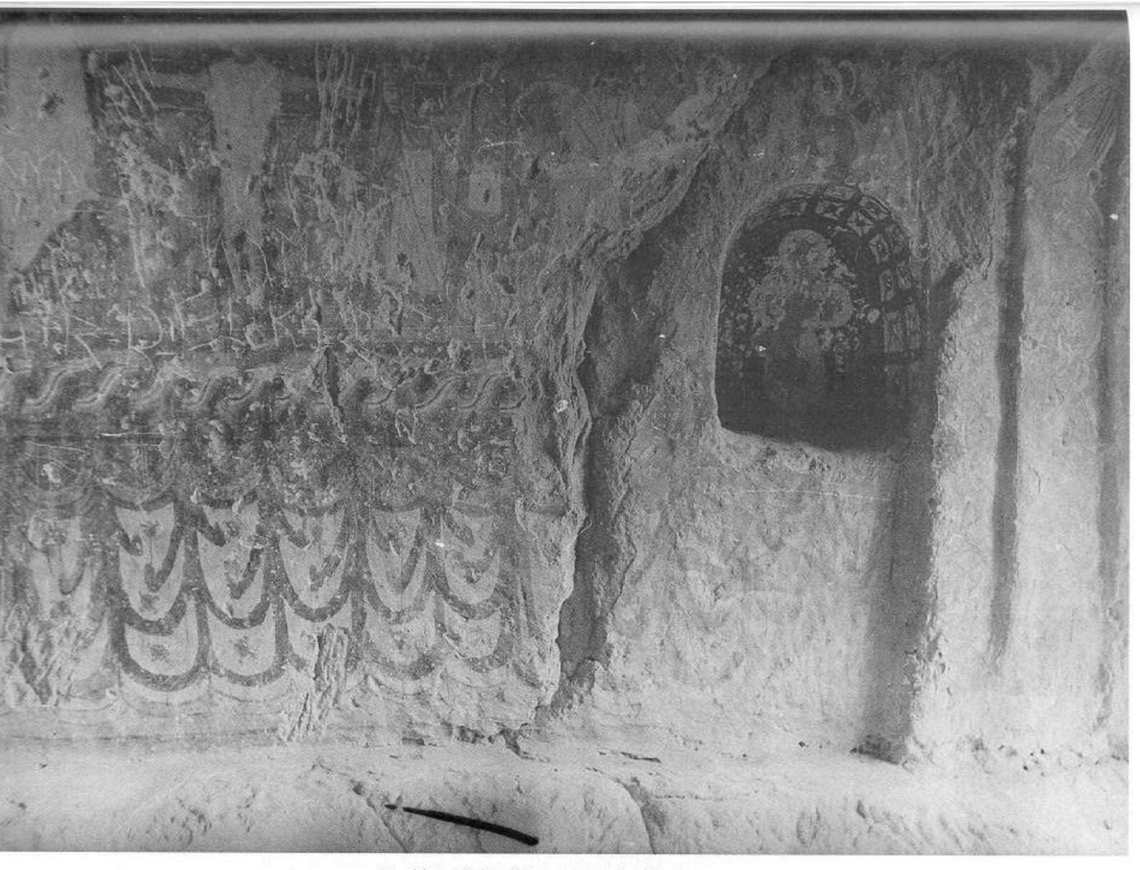




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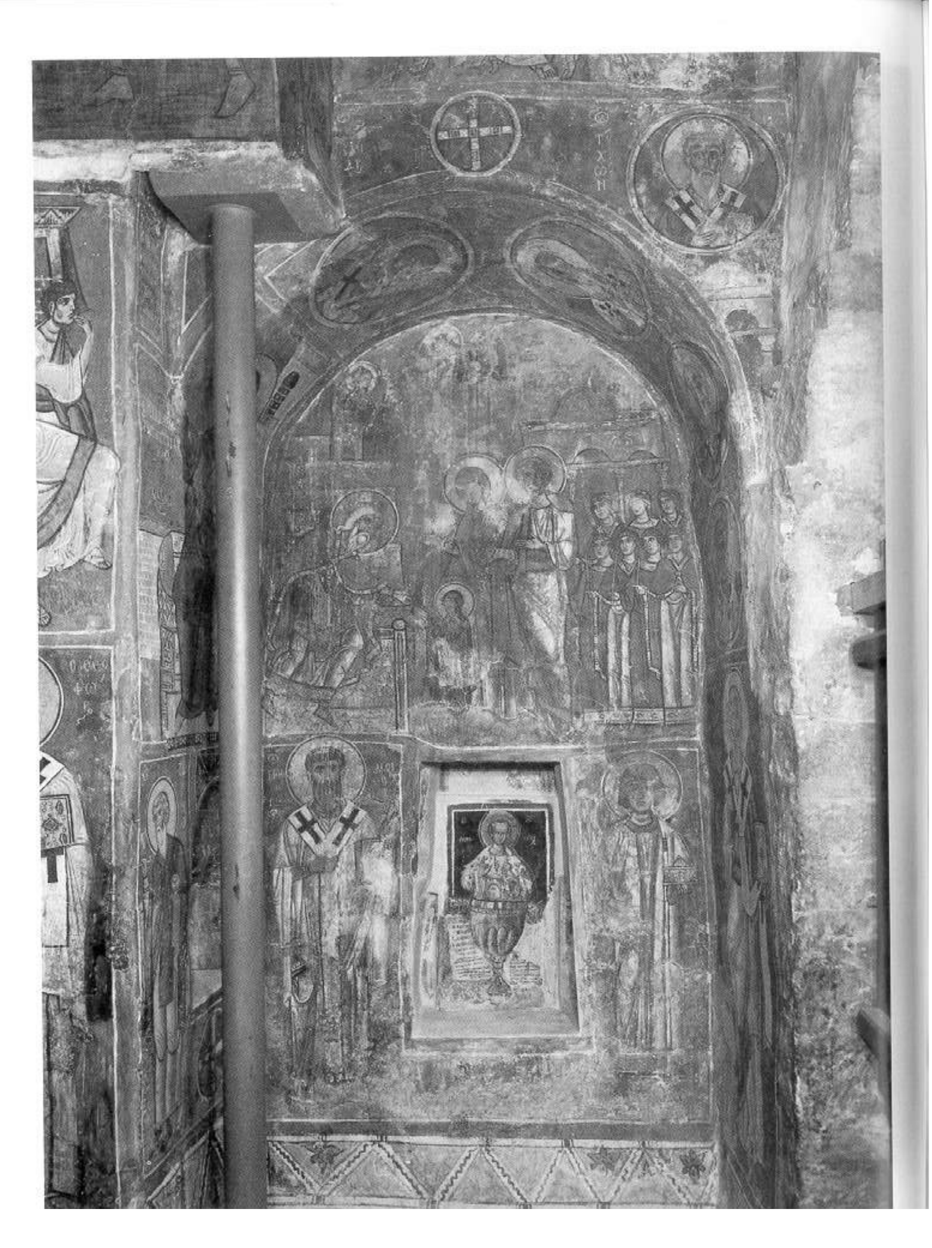
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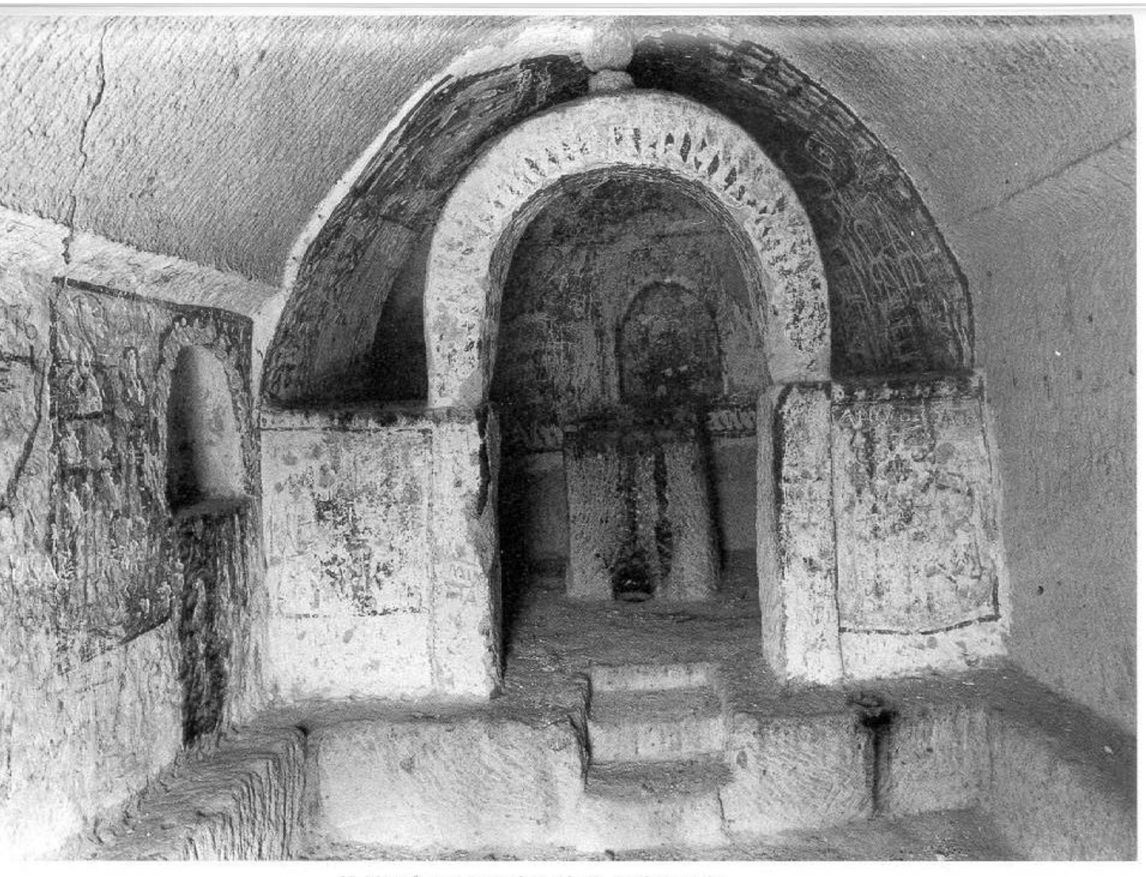




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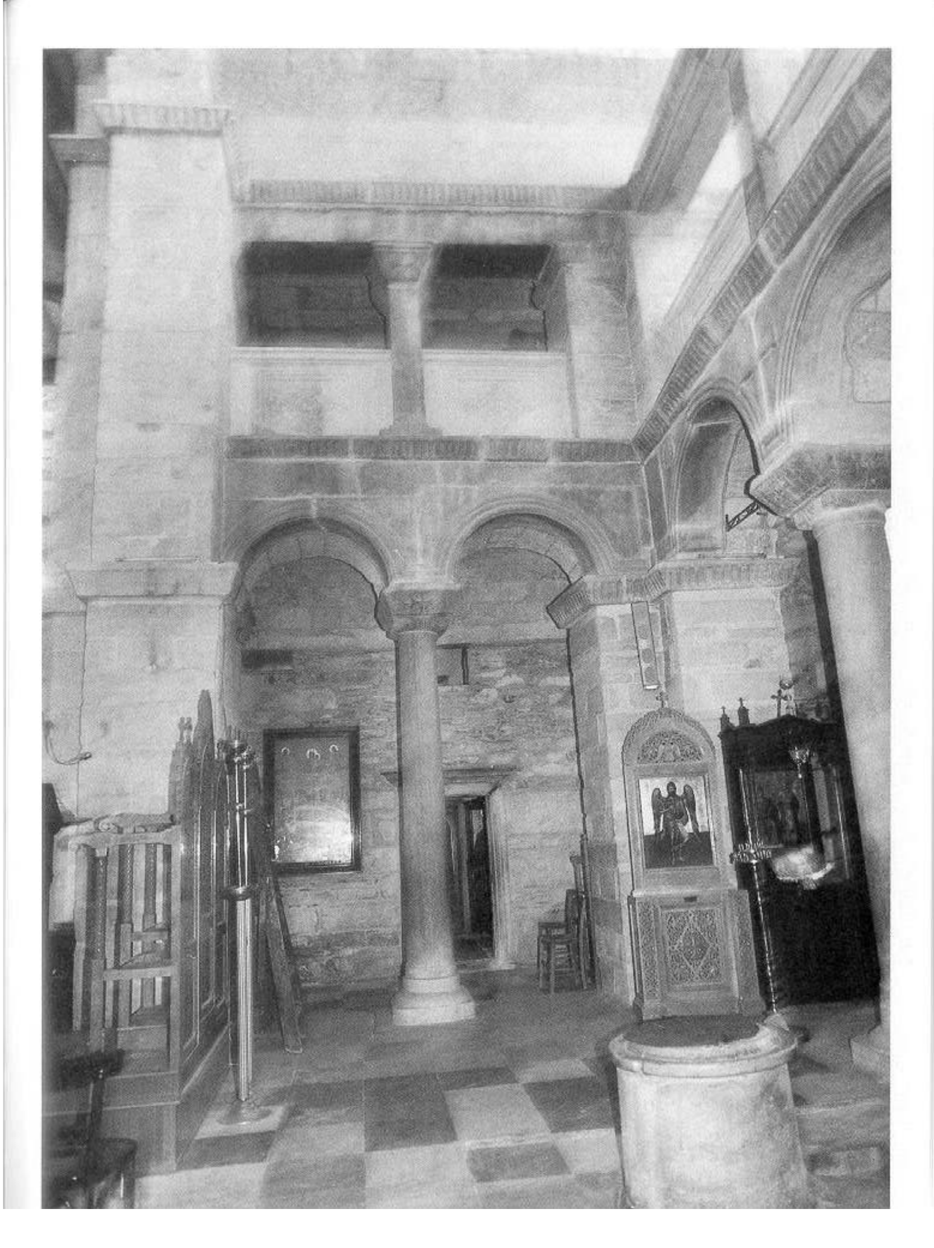


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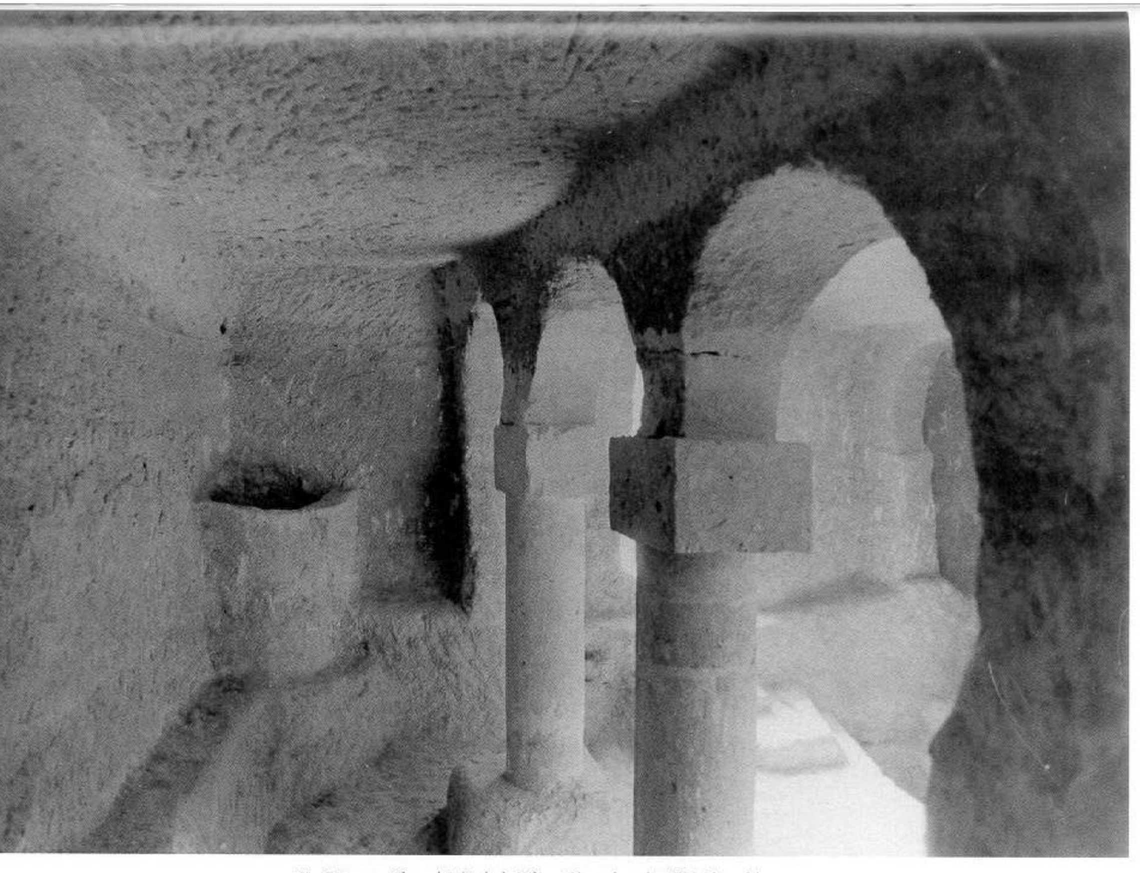
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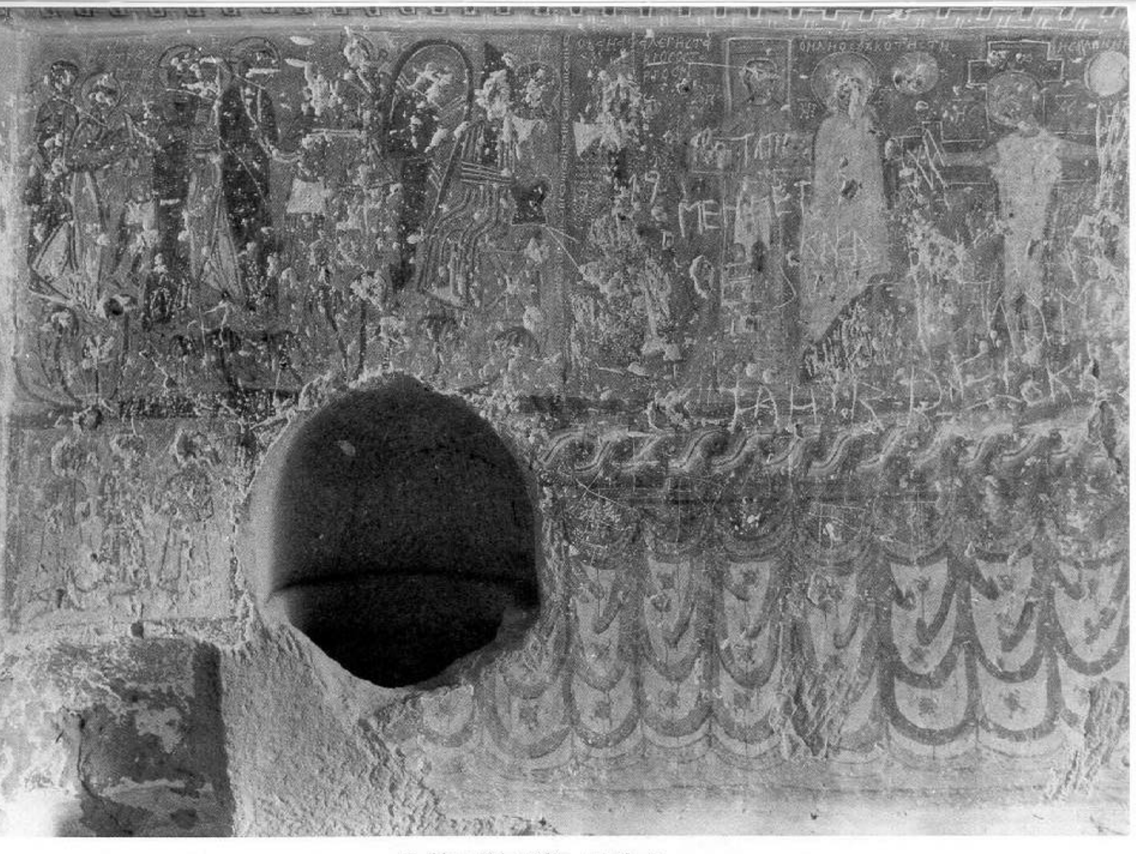


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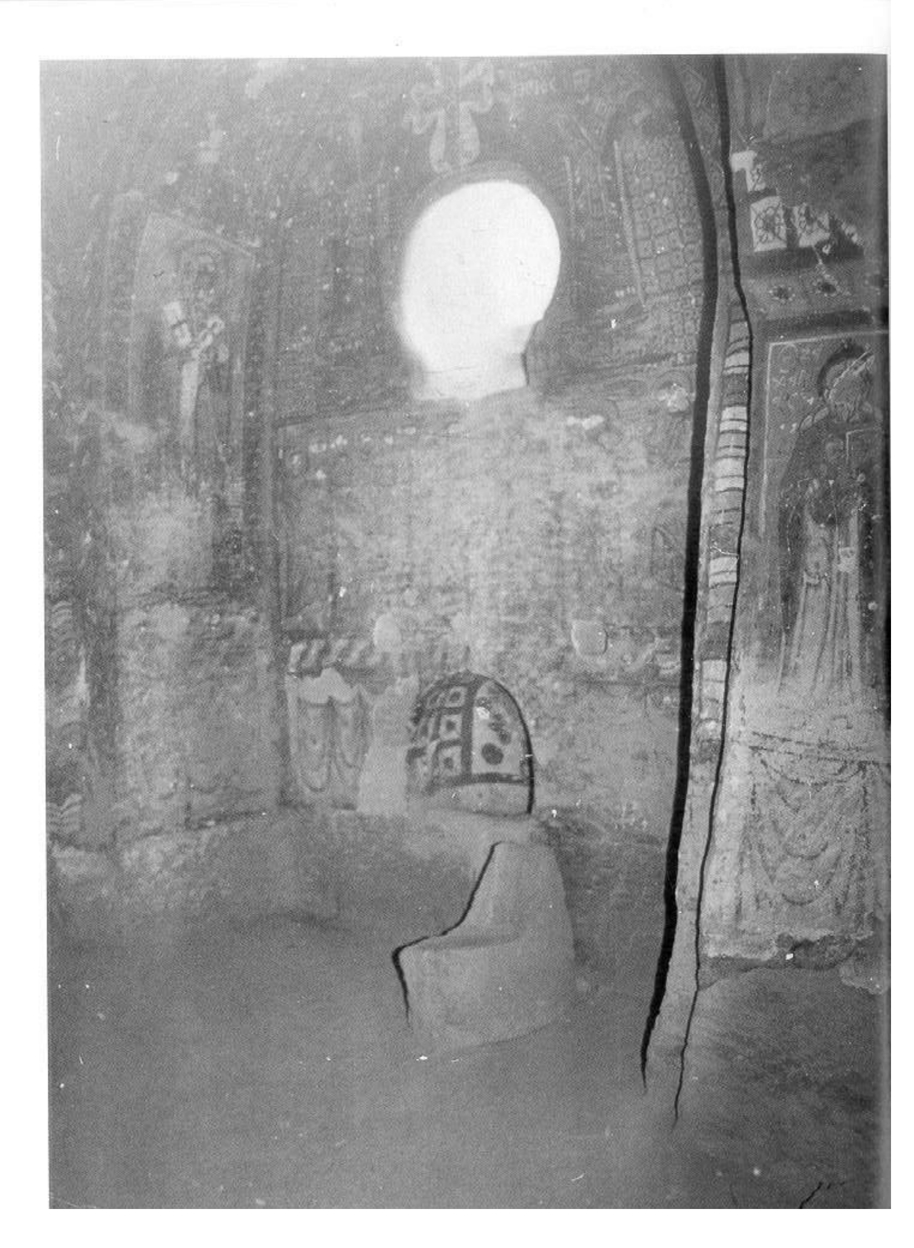


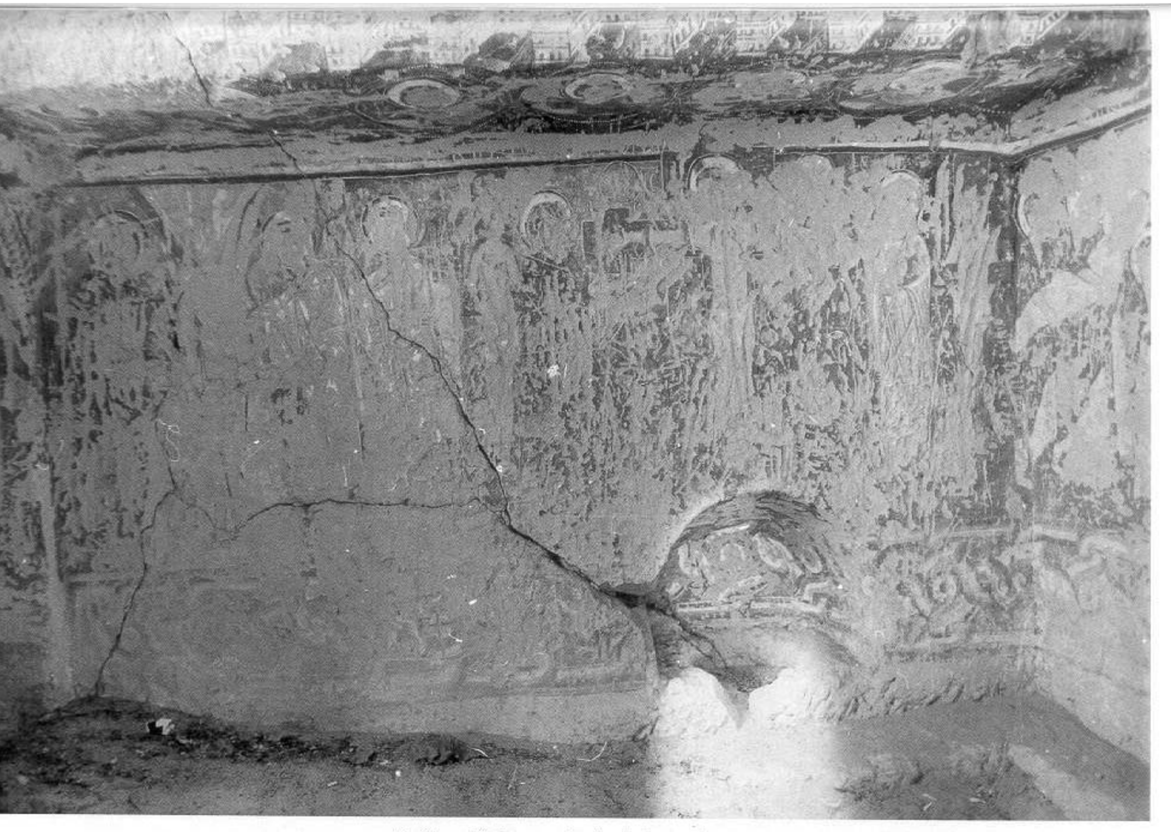
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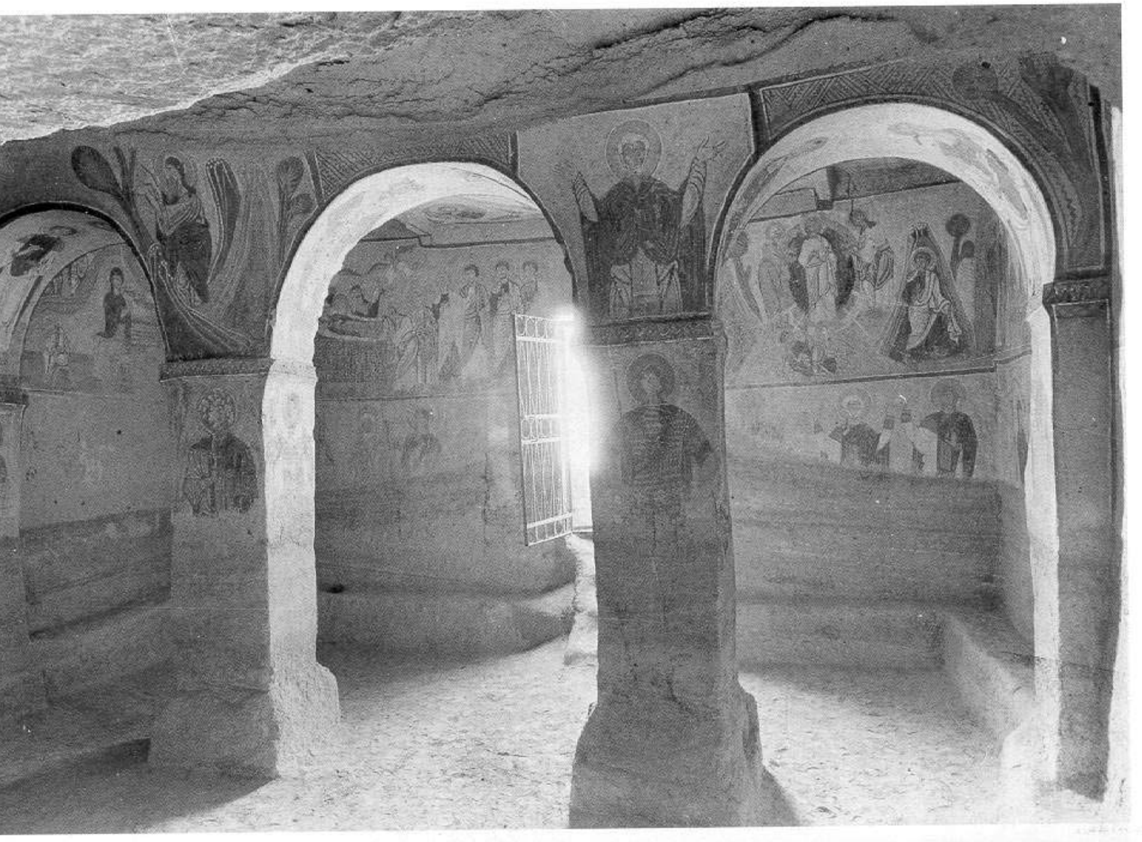


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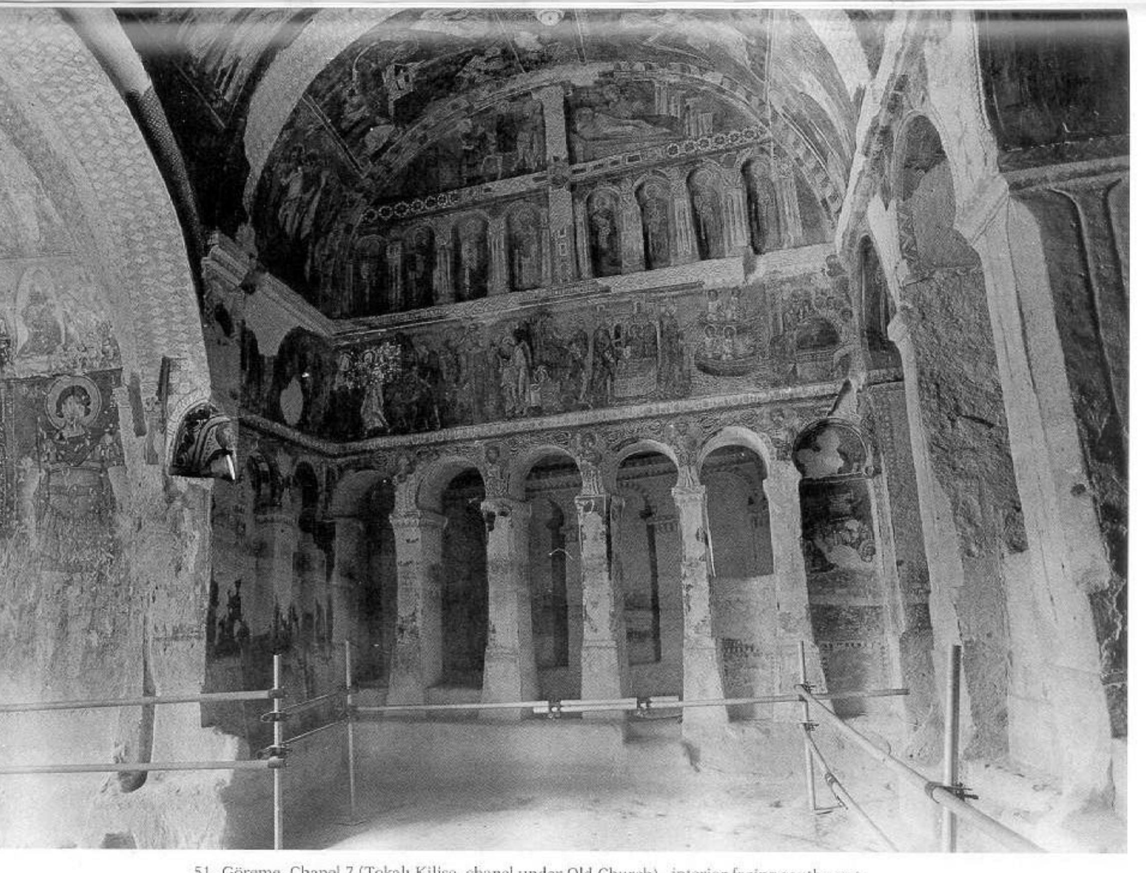
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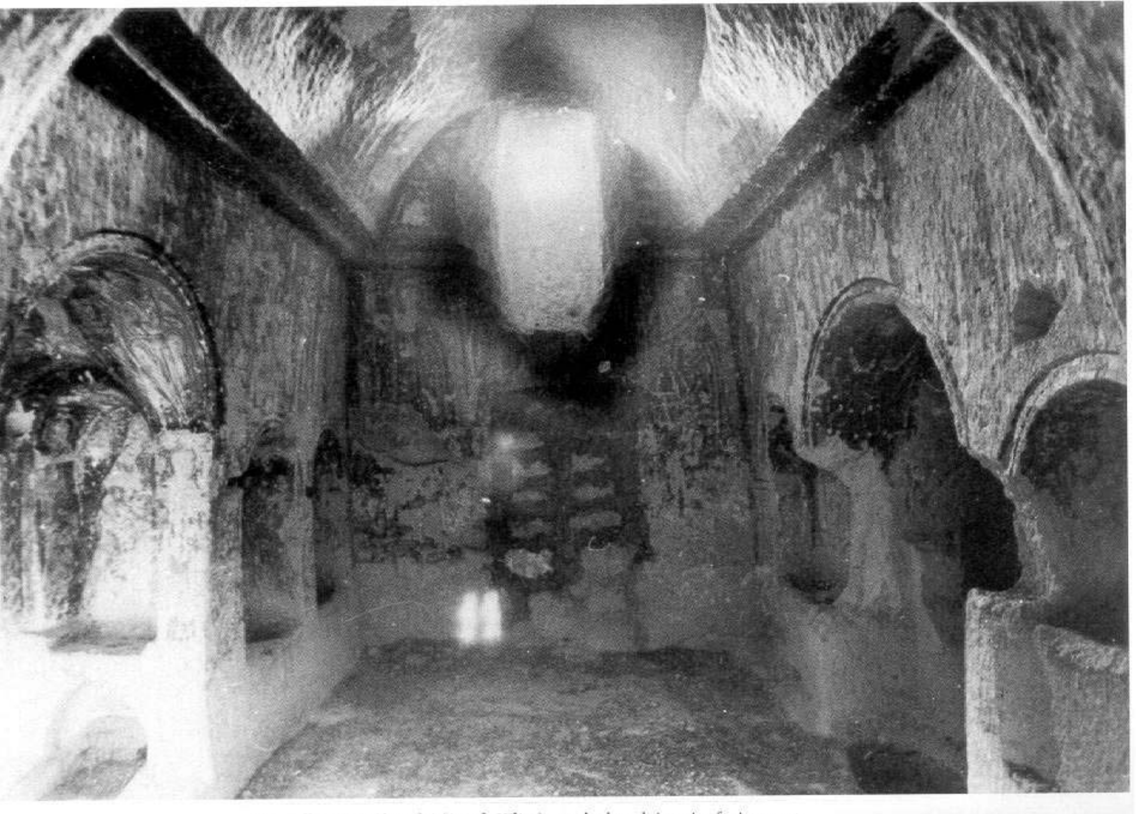
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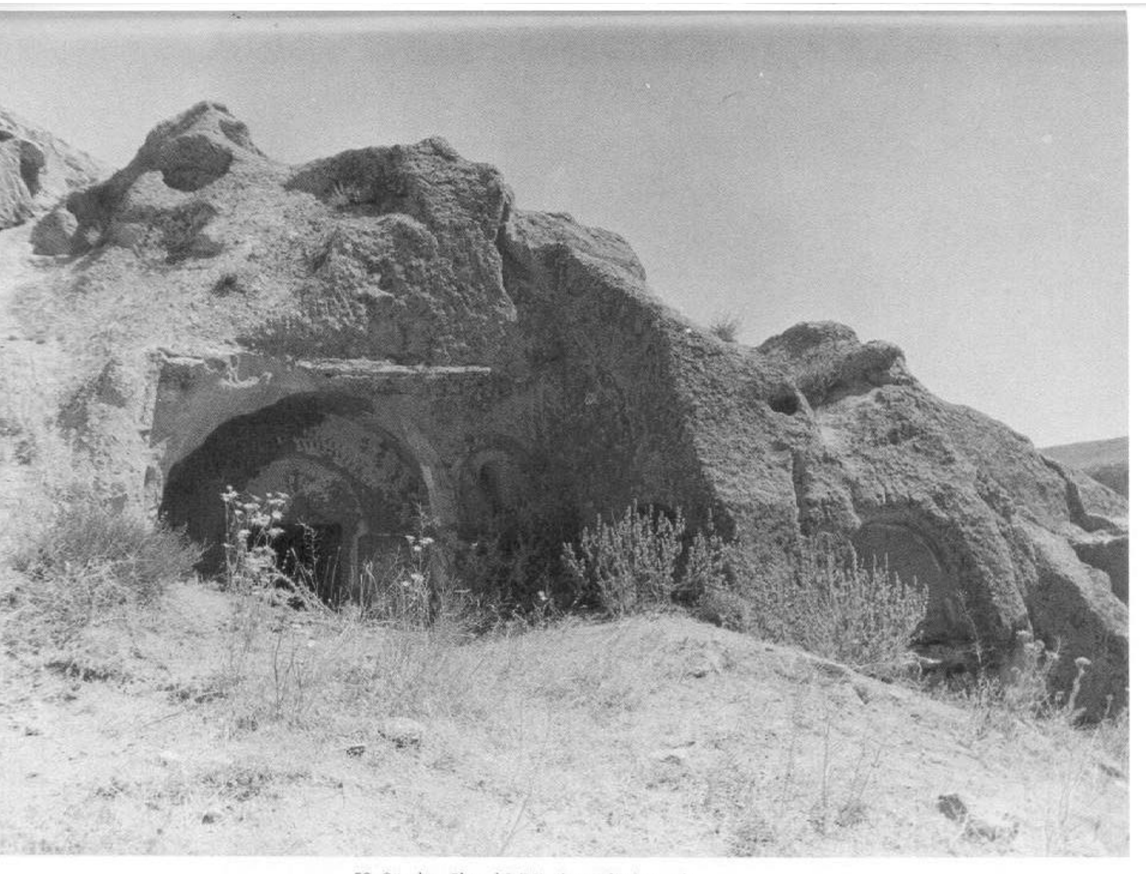


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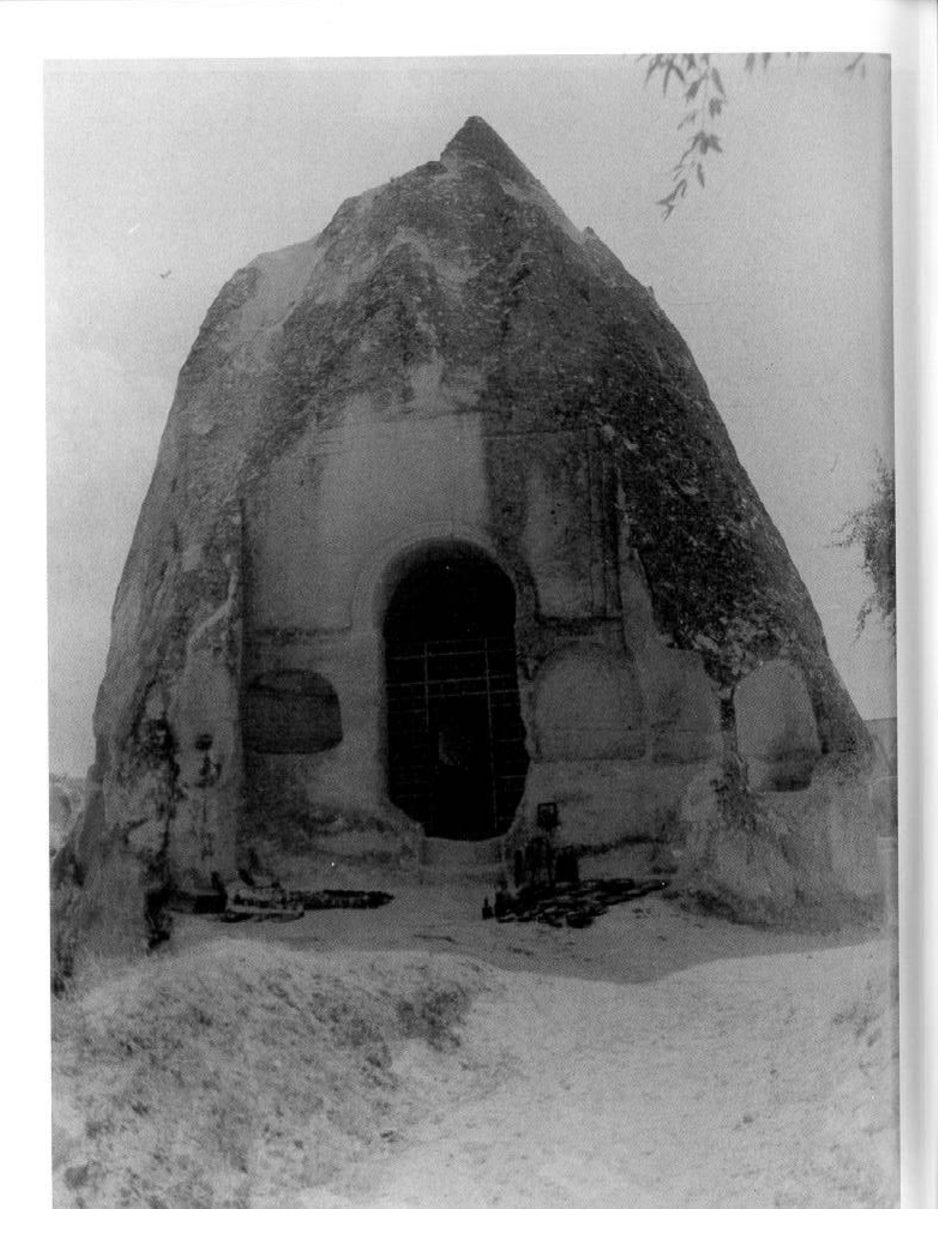


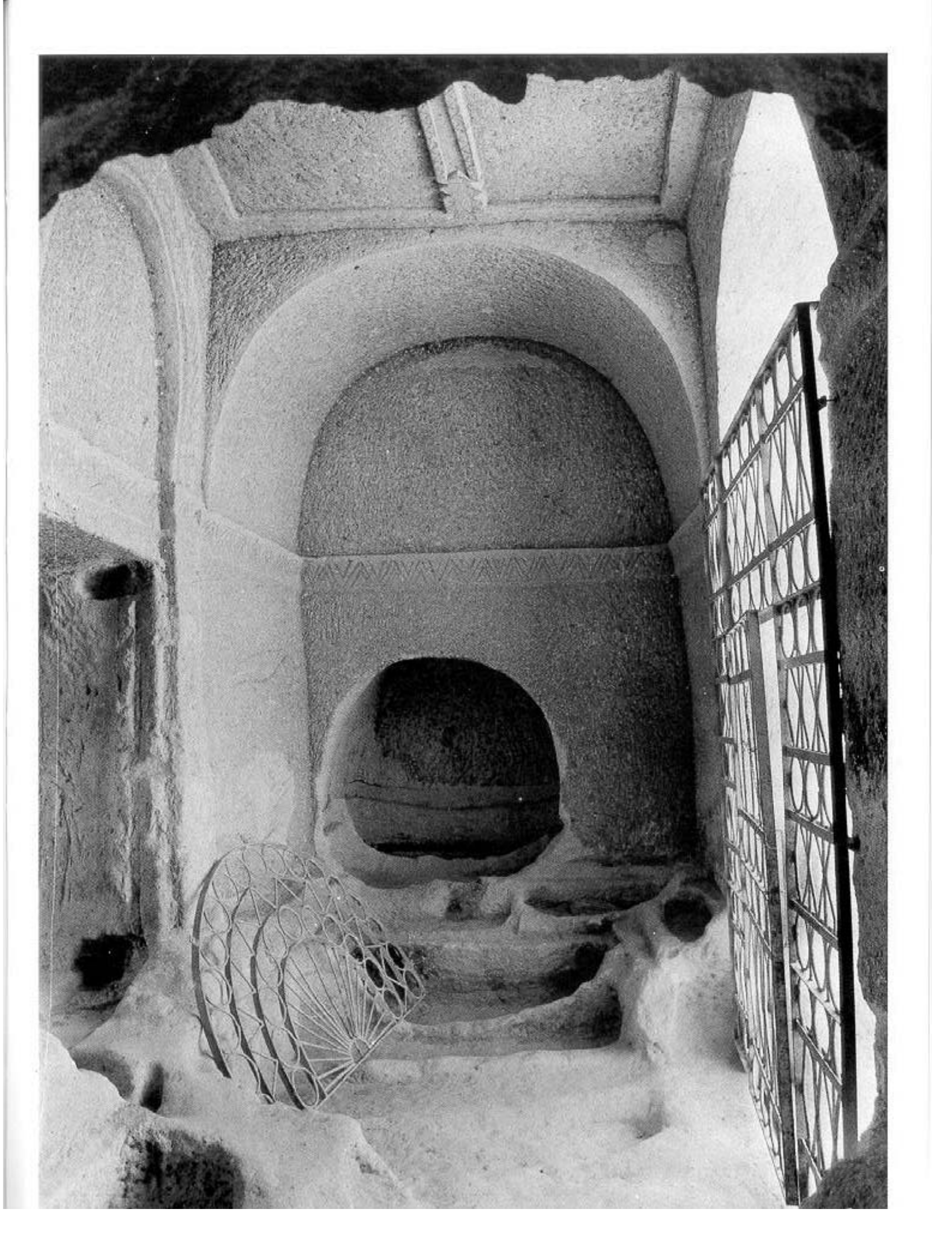
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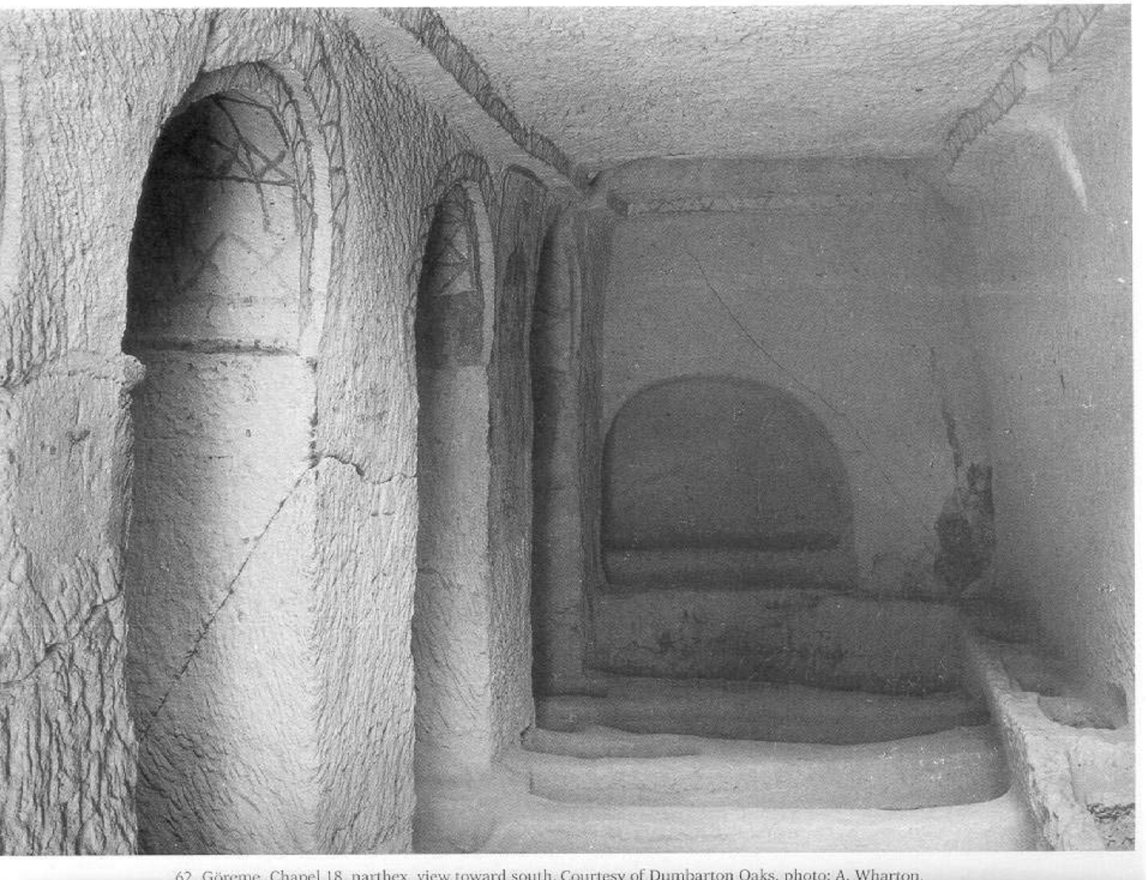
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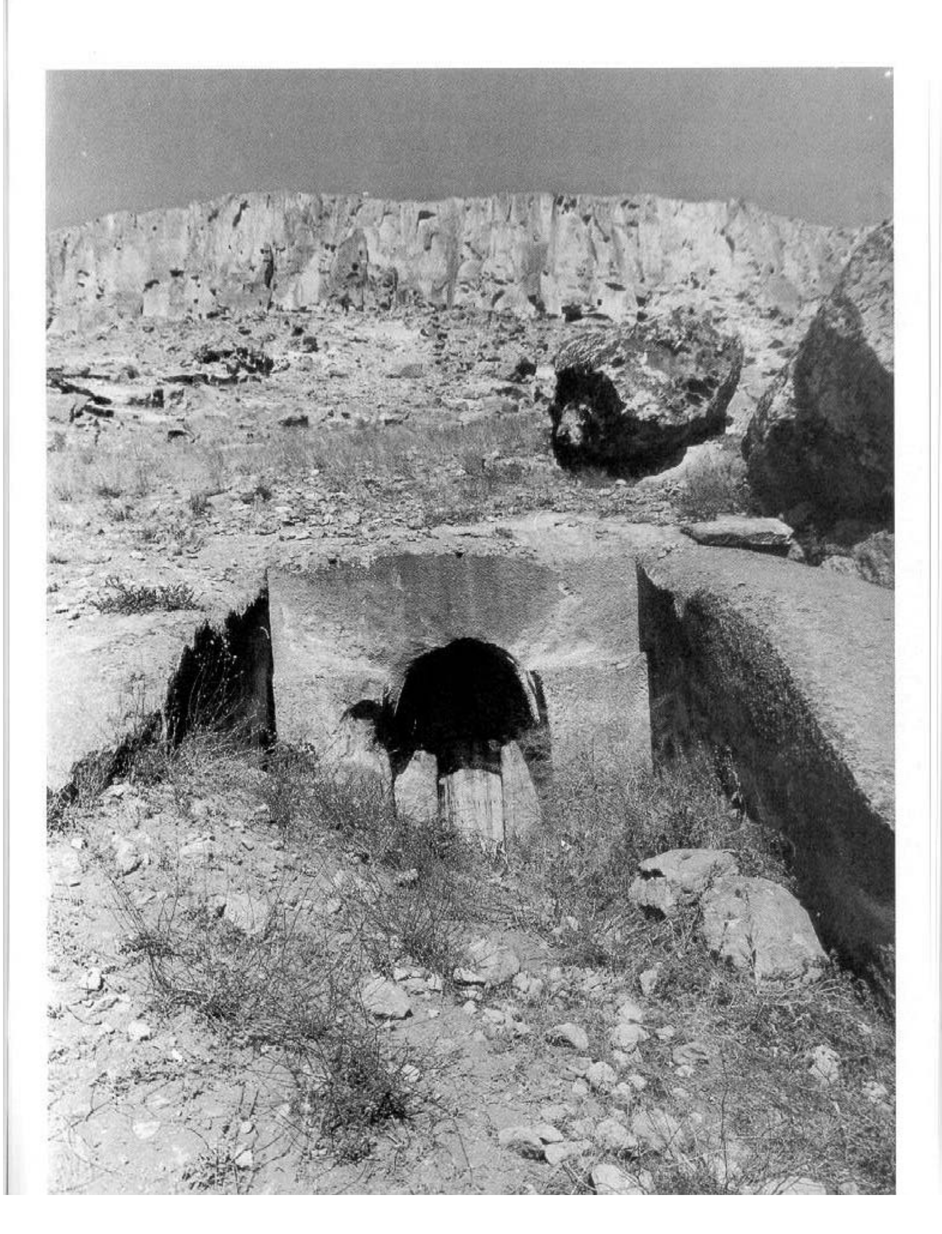
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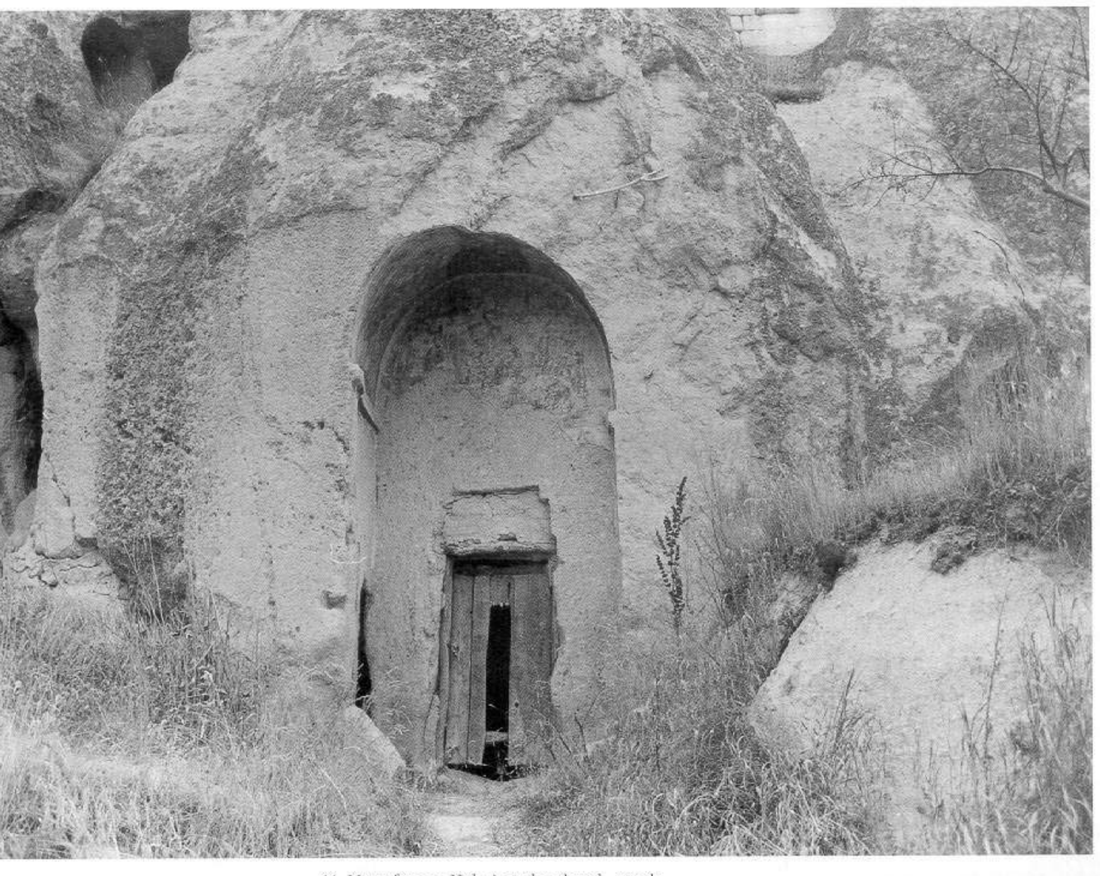


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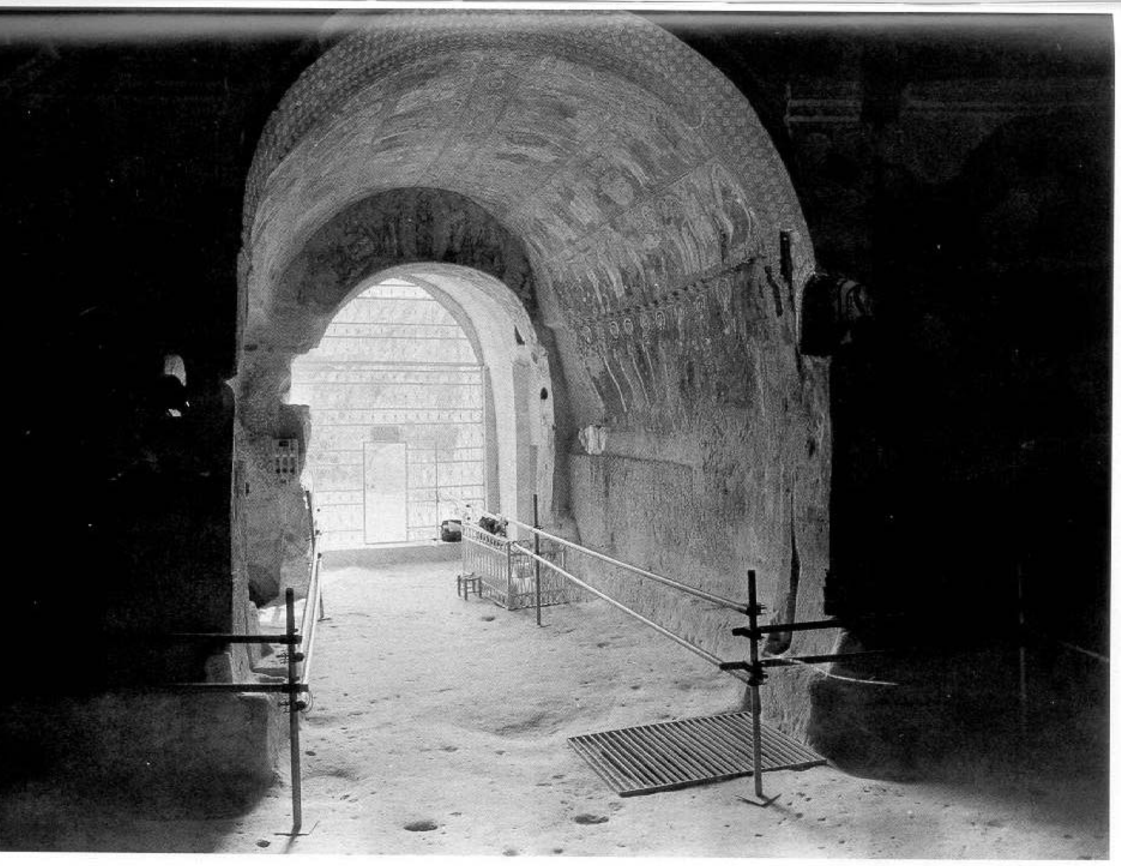


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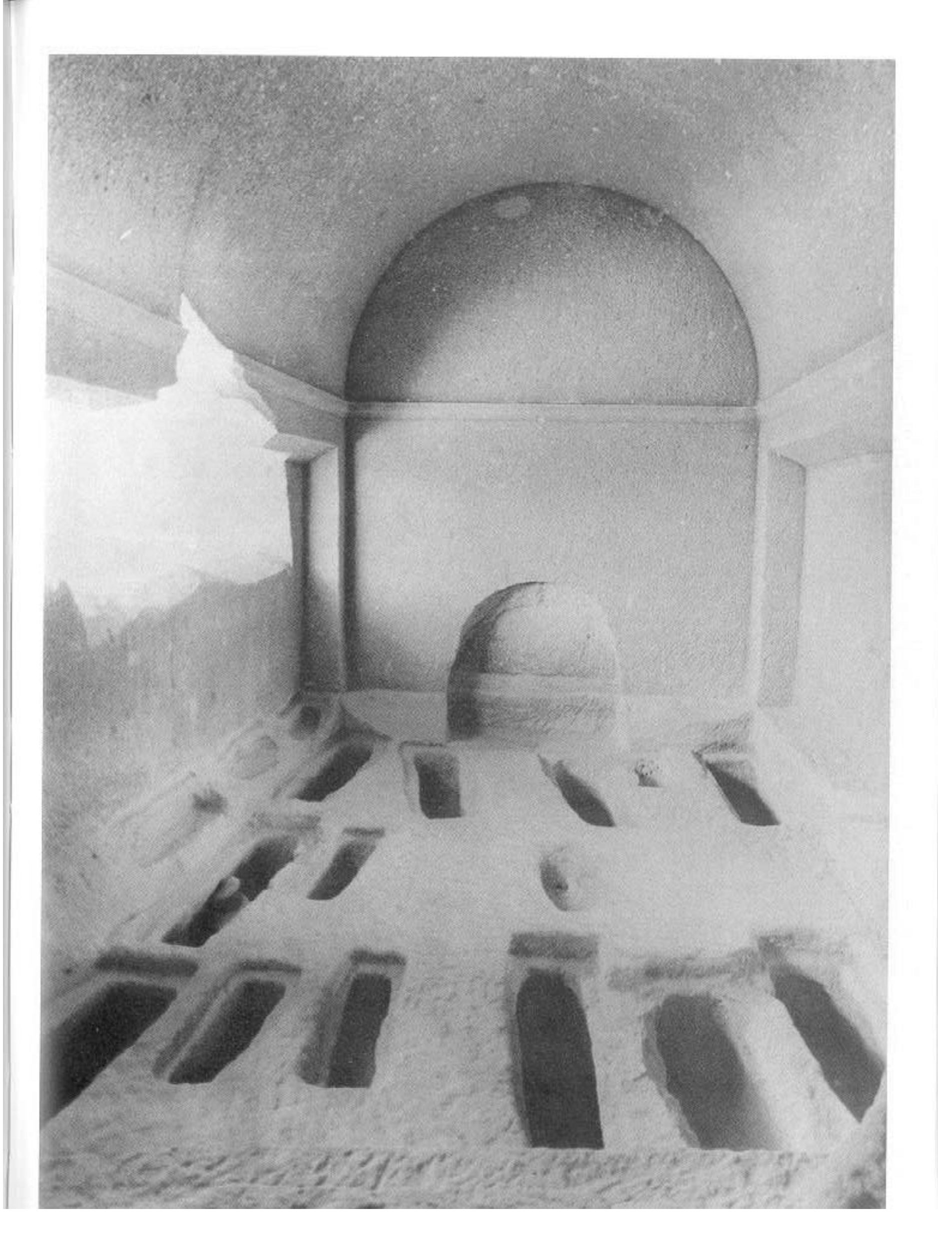
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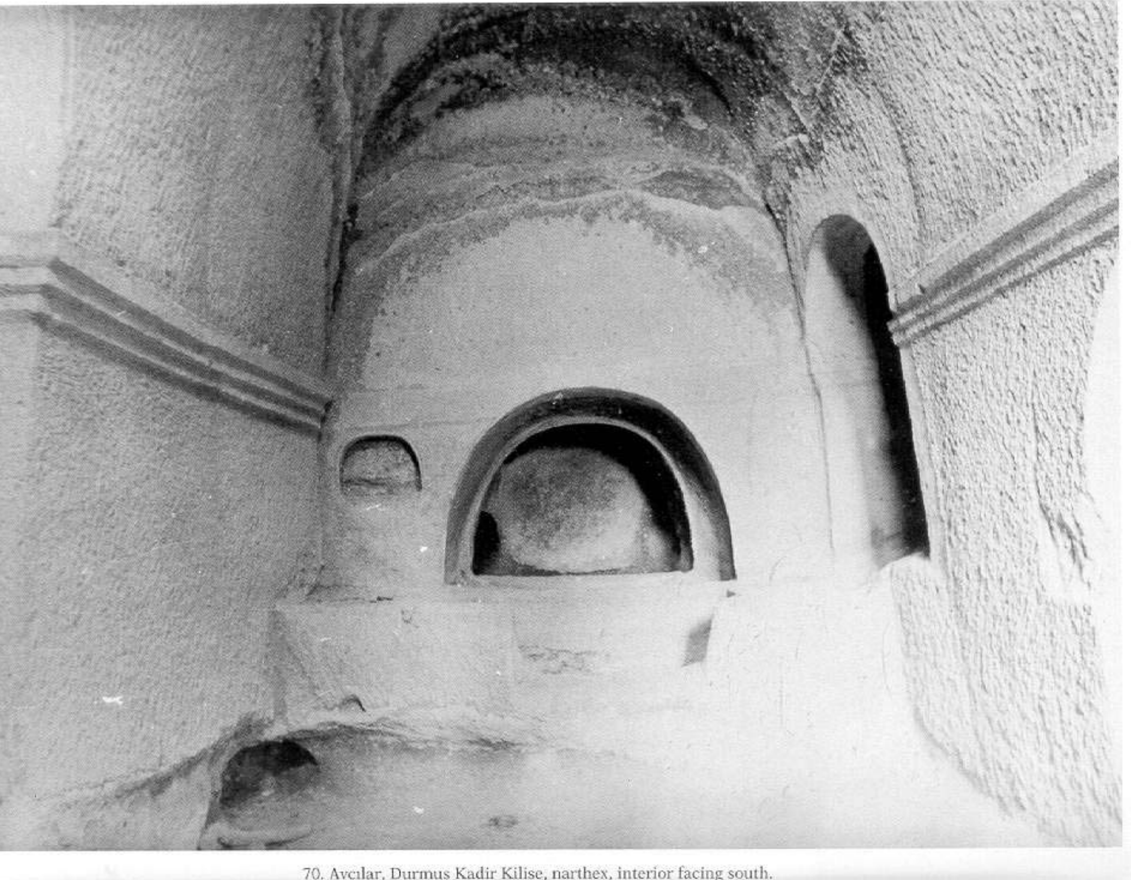


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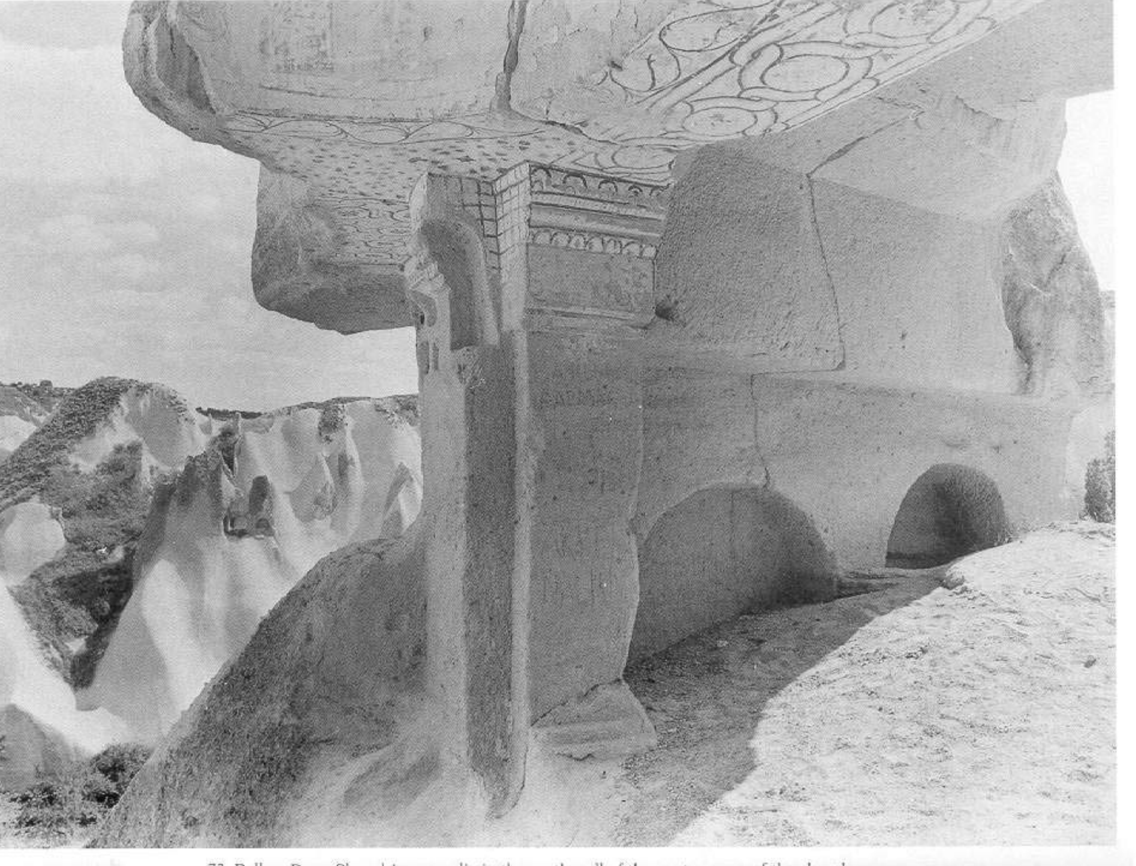




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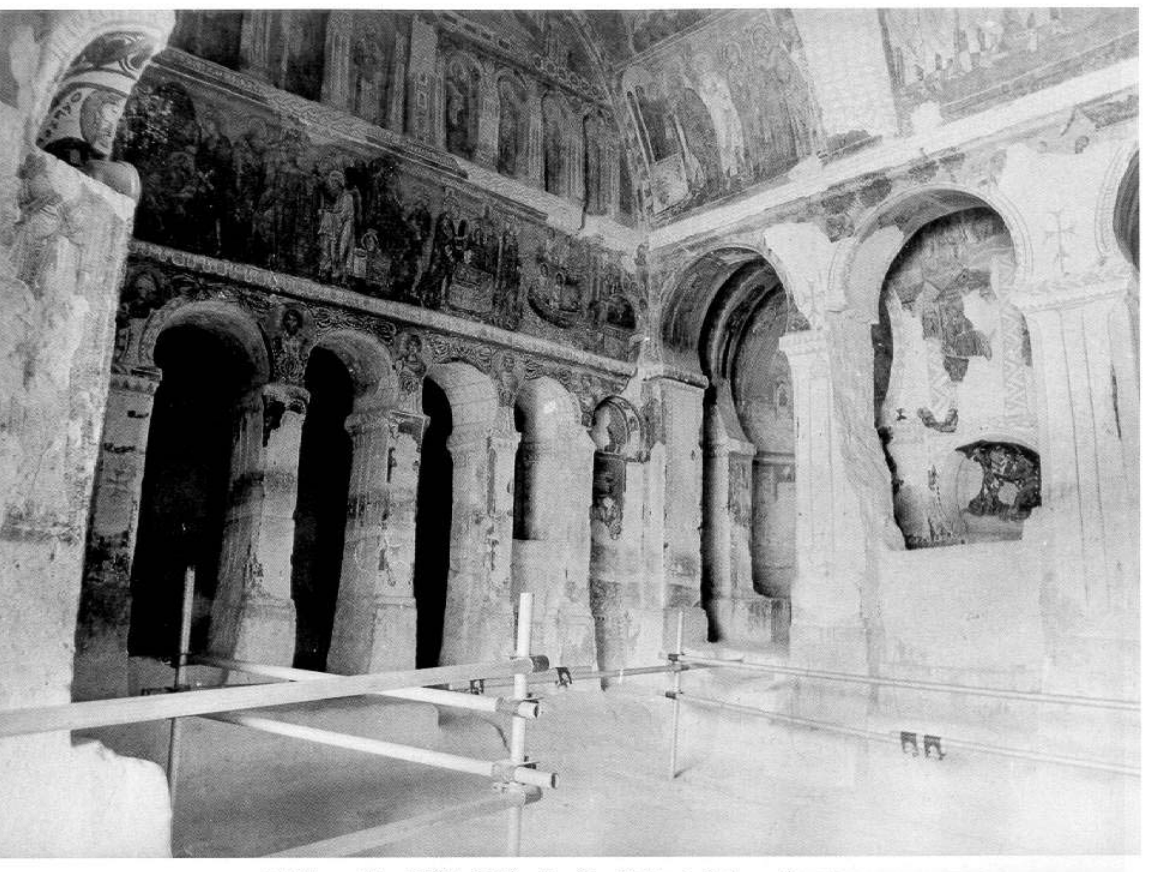
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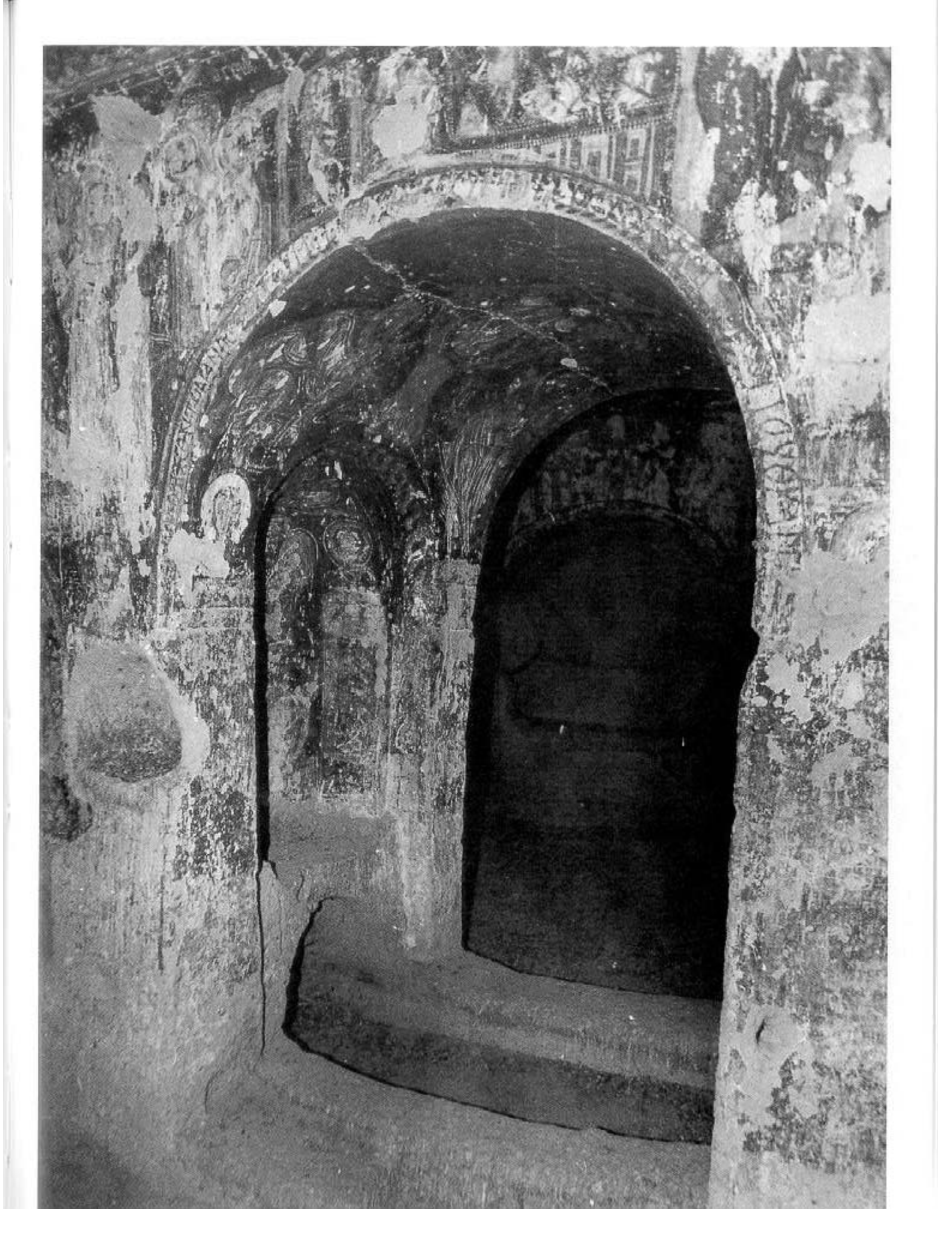
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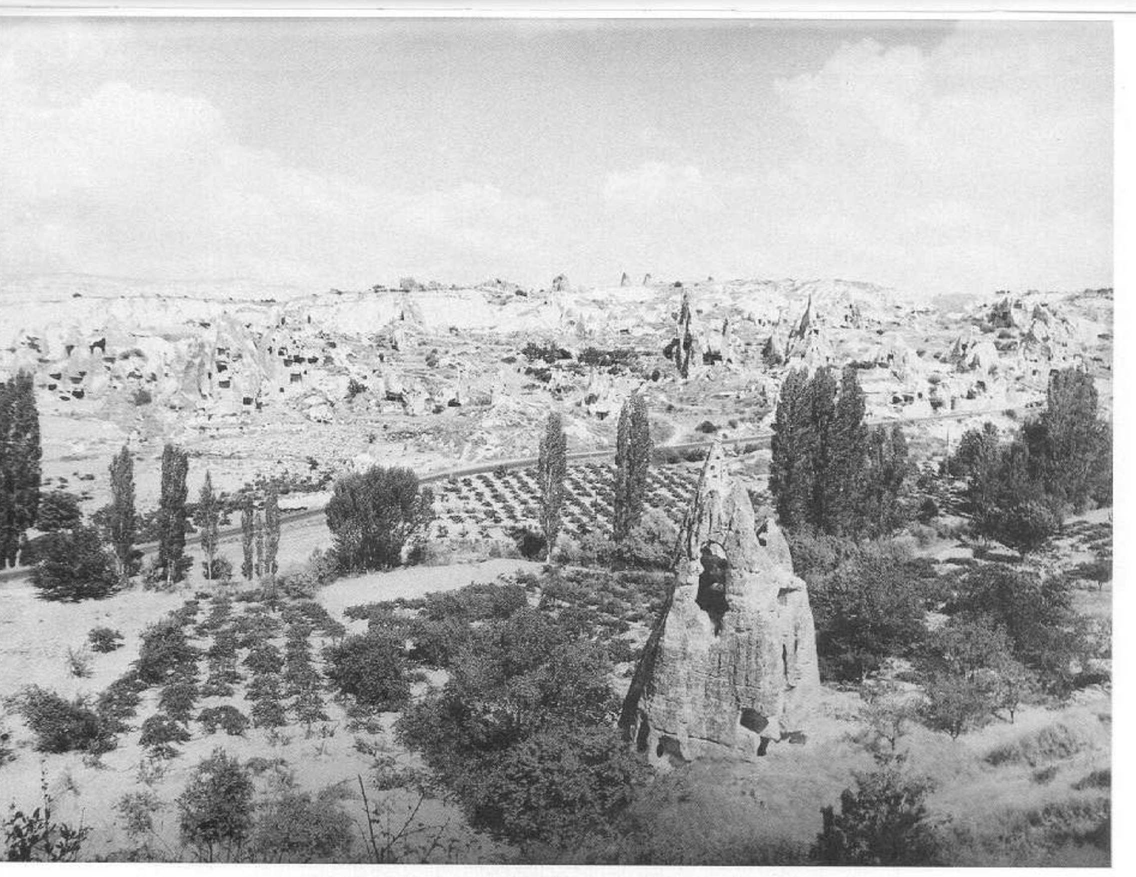


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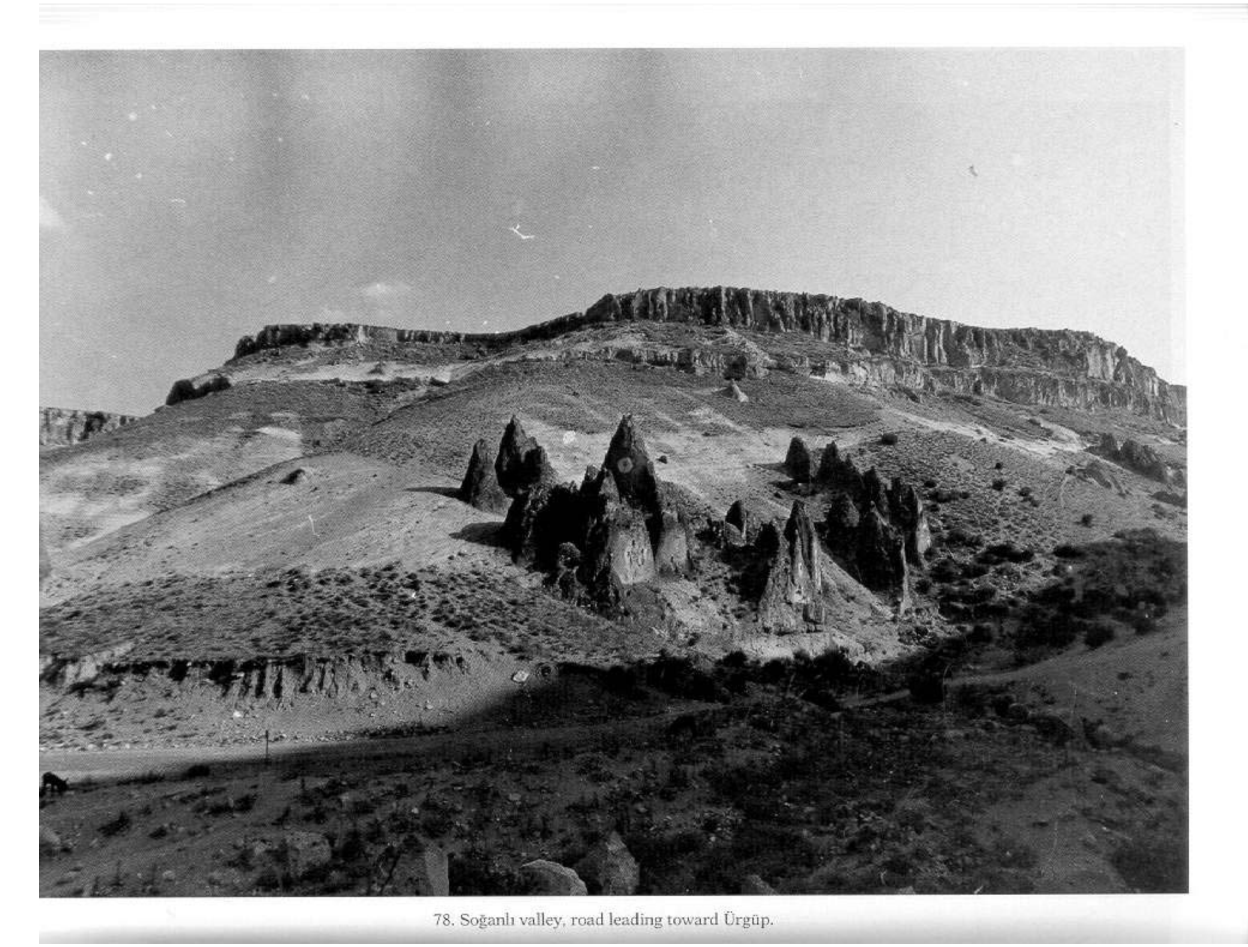




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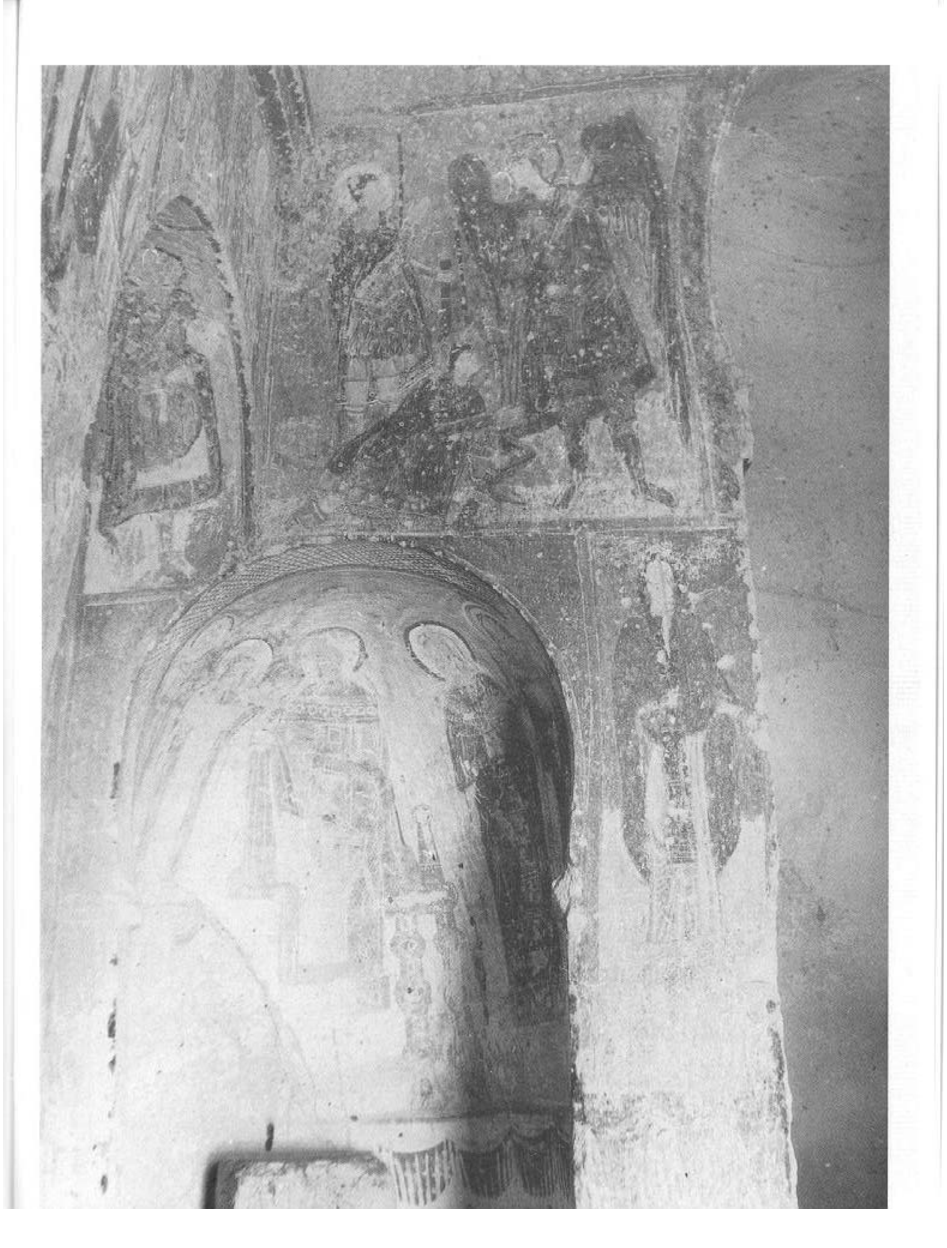
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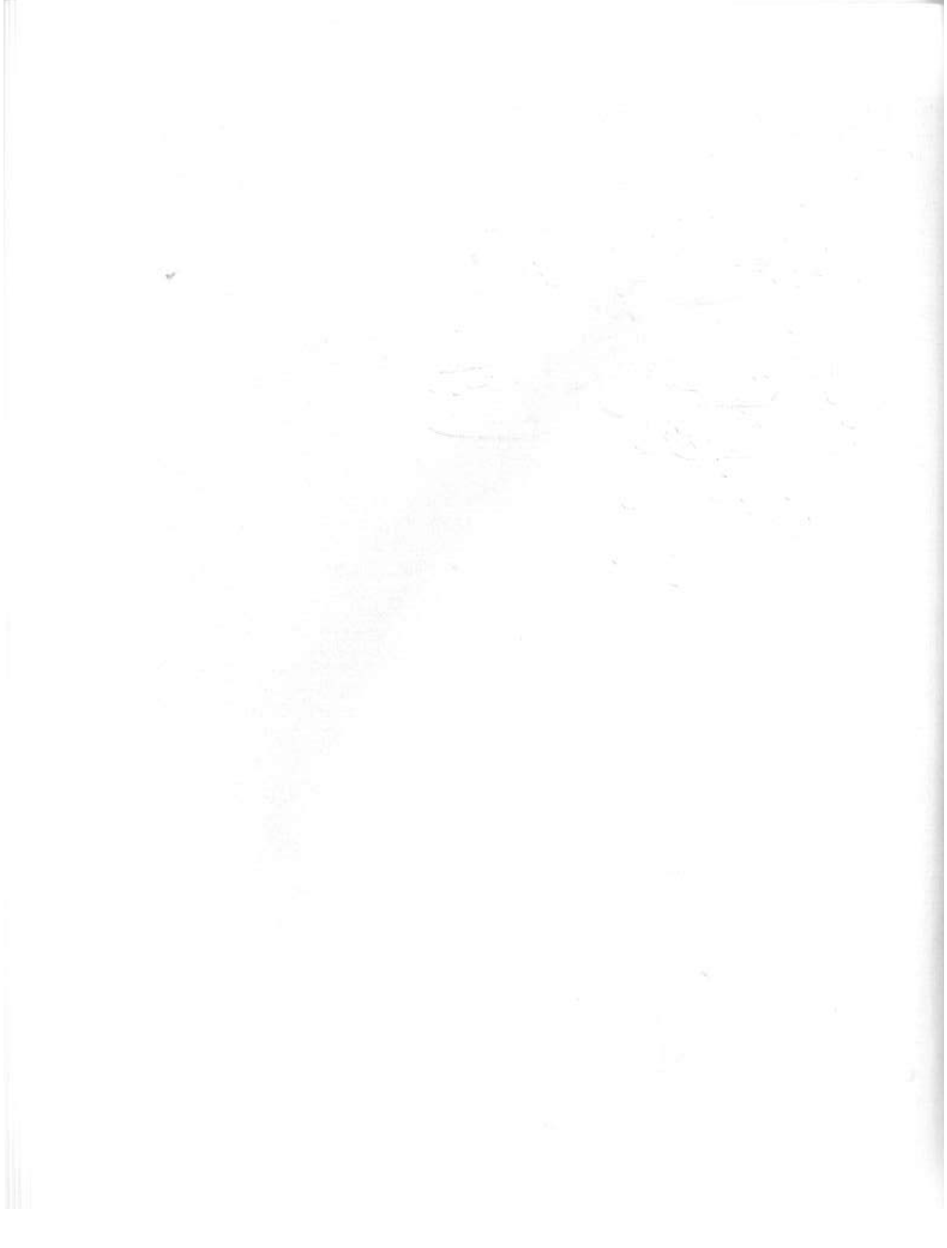




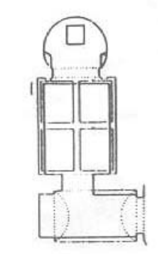
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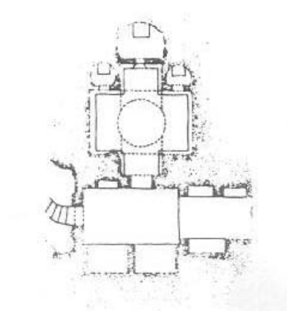
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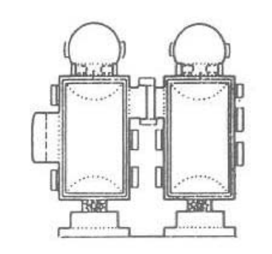
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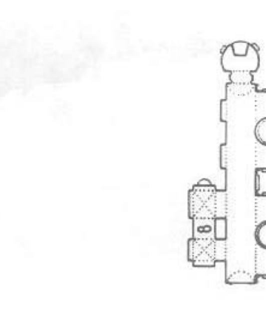


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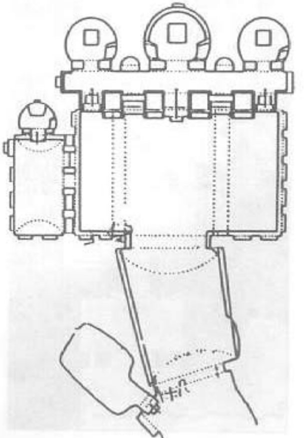


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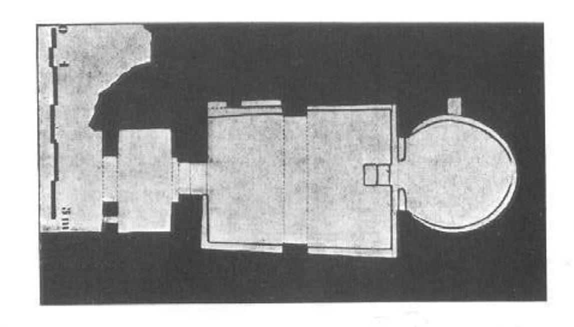
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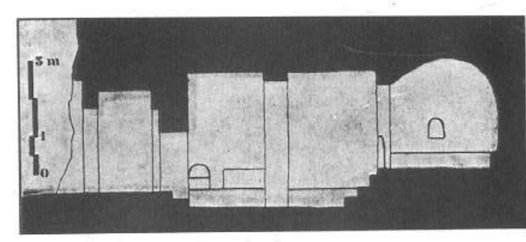


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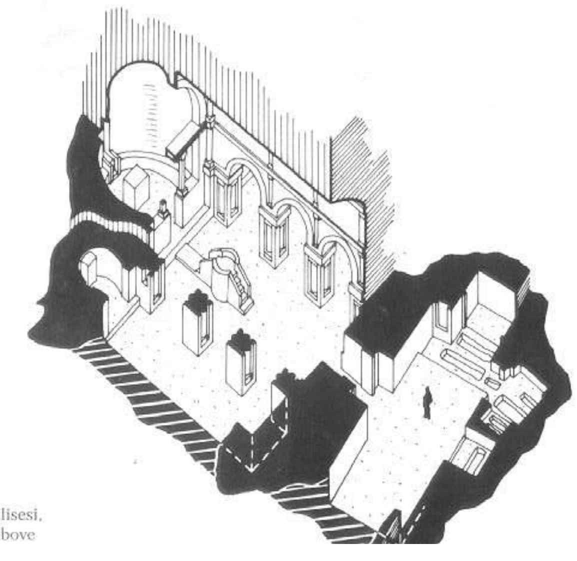


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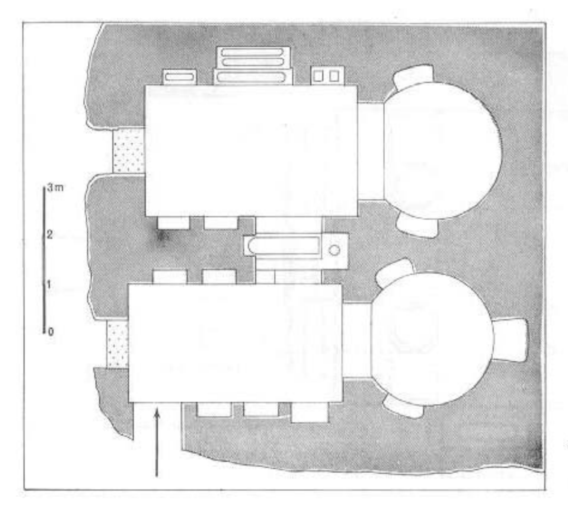




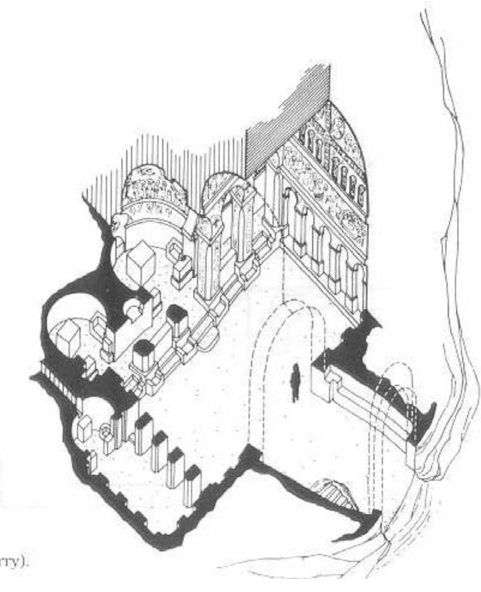
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4. Göreme, Chapel 7 (Tokalı Kilise, New Church), axonometric section, from above (after *Arts of Cappadocia*).



5. Güllü Dere, Chapel 4 (Ayvalı Kilise), plan (after Thierry).

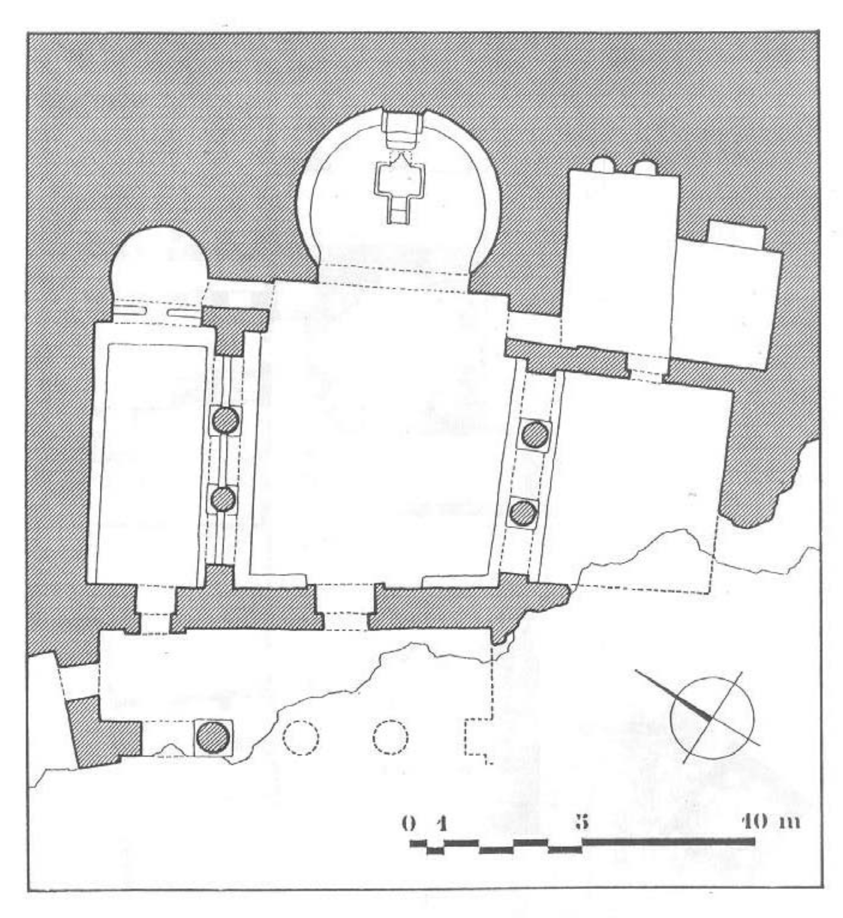
Cappadocian church types showing central apse with two lateral apsideoles.



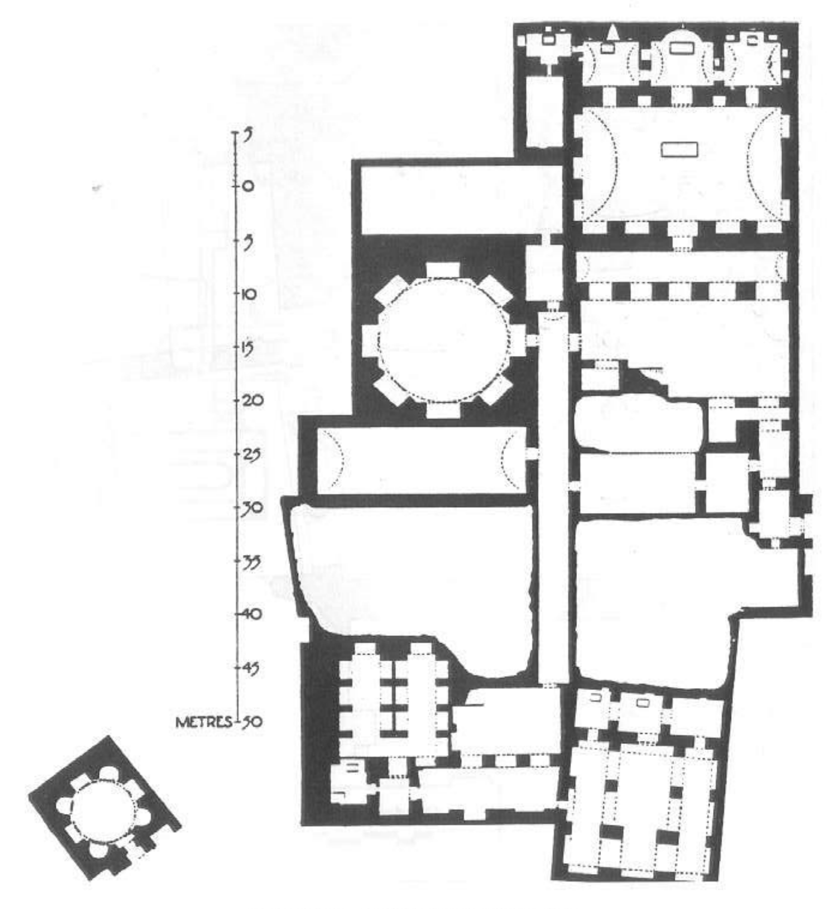
single-nave (Chapel 15a, Göreme). Plan after Schiemenz.



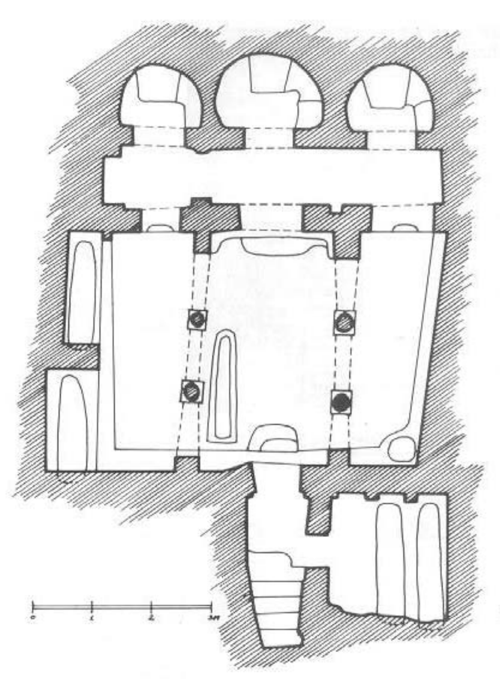
2) cross-in-square (Eski Gümüş, Niğde). Plan after Rodley.



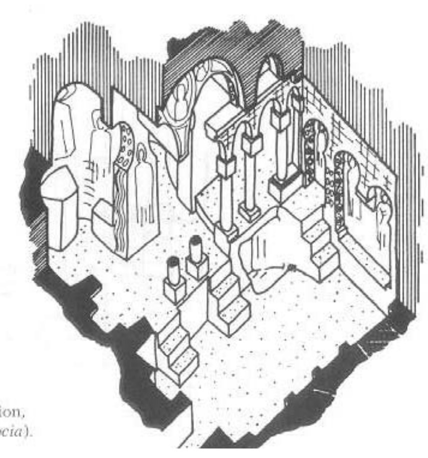
7. Çavuşın, St. John the Baptist, plan (after Thierry).



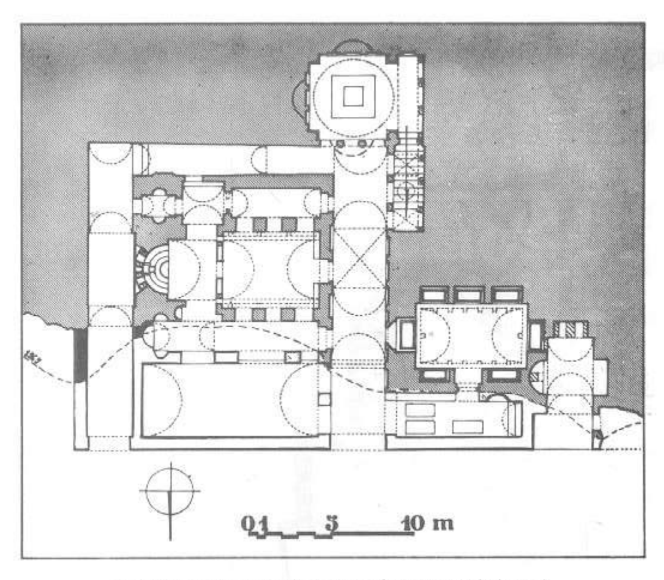
8. Tur 'Abdin, Mar Gabriel, plan (after Bell).



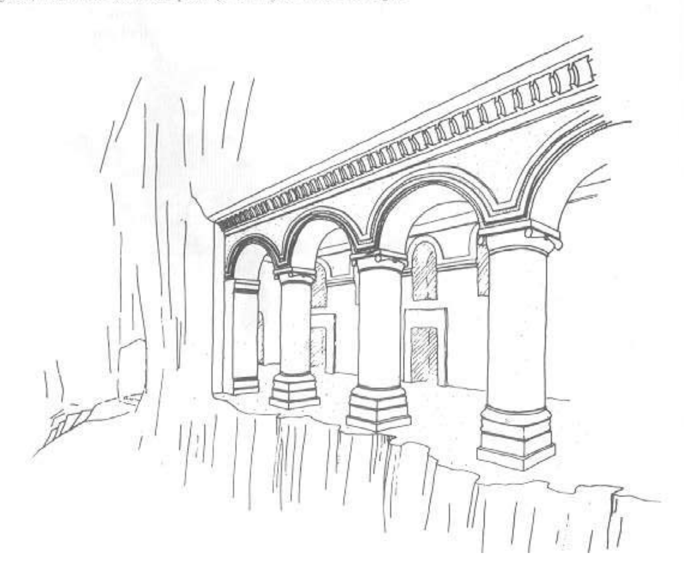
9. Göreme, Chapel 7 (Tokalı Kilise, Chapel under Old Church) plan.



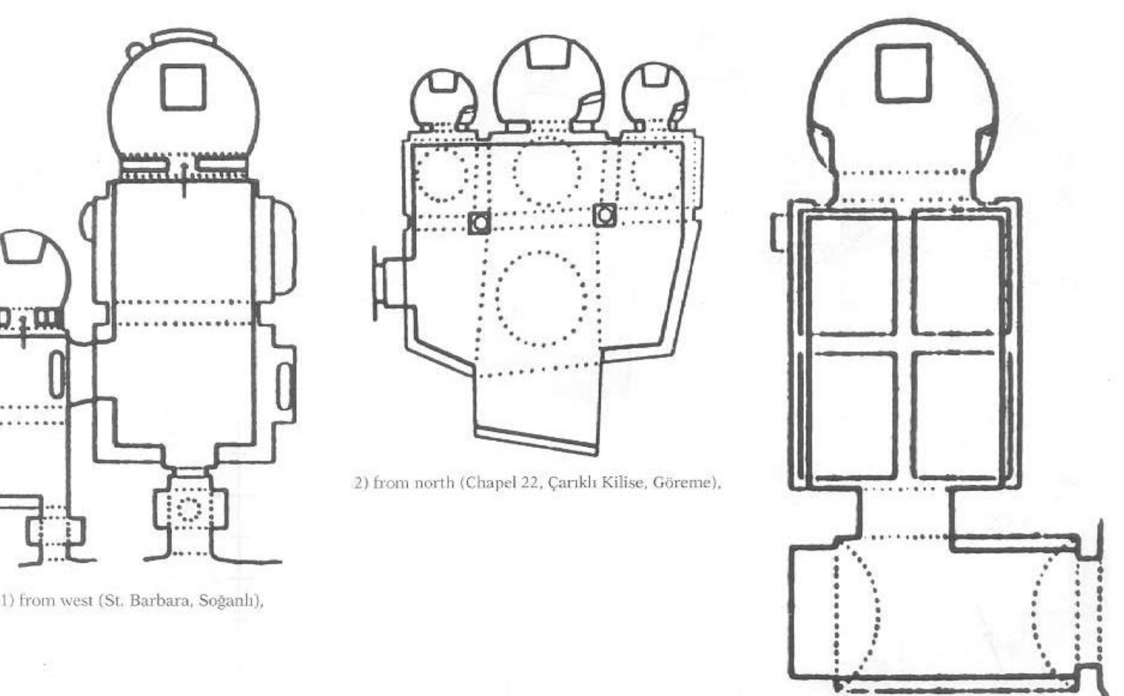
10. Göreme, Chapel 33 (Meryemana), axonometric section, from above (after *Arts of Cappadocia*).



11. Mydie, Rock-cut basilica, plan (after Eyise and Thierry).



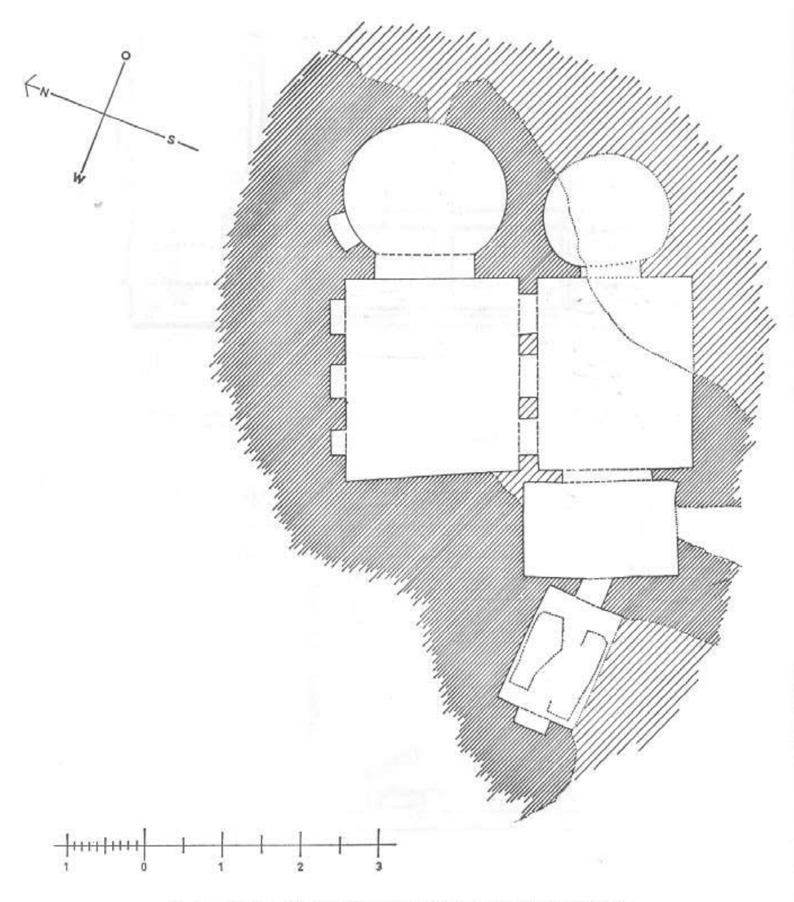
Orientation of porches toward the naos: Plans (after Rodley).



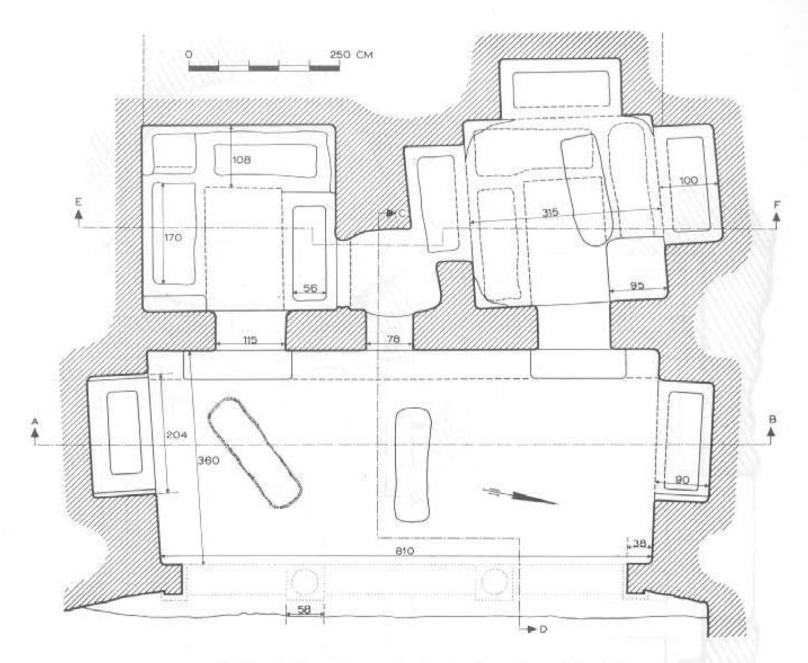
1) from west (St. Barbara, Soğanlı),

2) from north (Chapel 22, Çarıklı Kilise, Göreme),

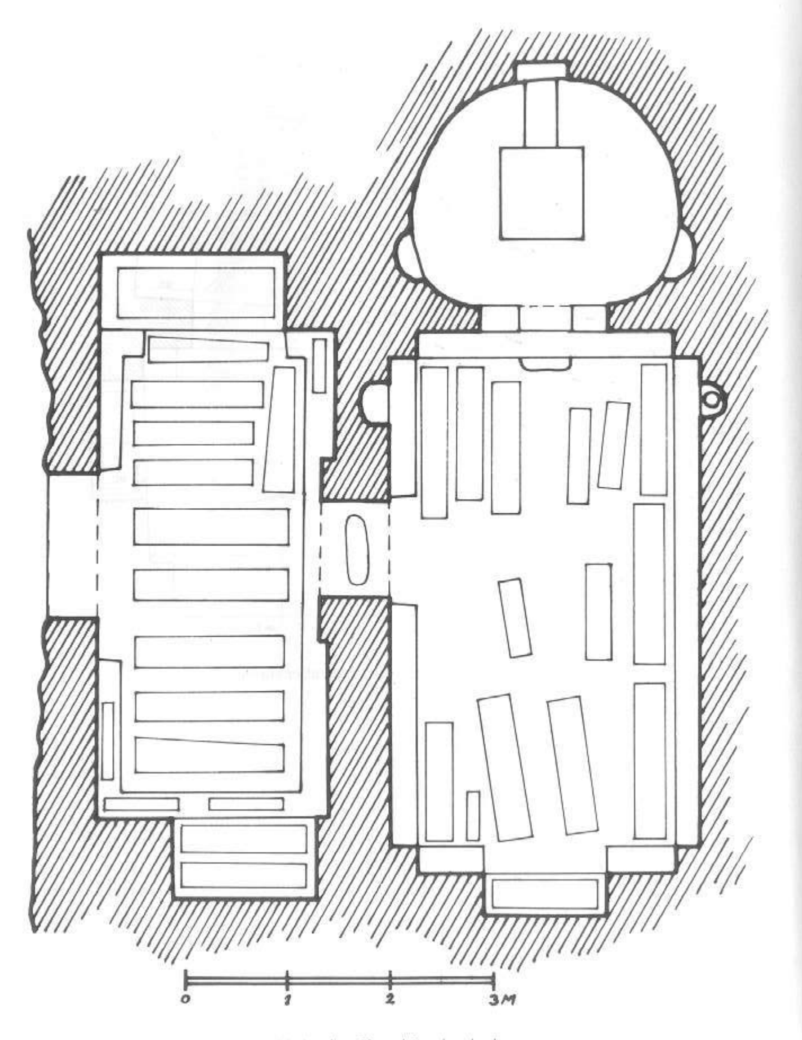
3) from south (St. Symeon, Zelve).



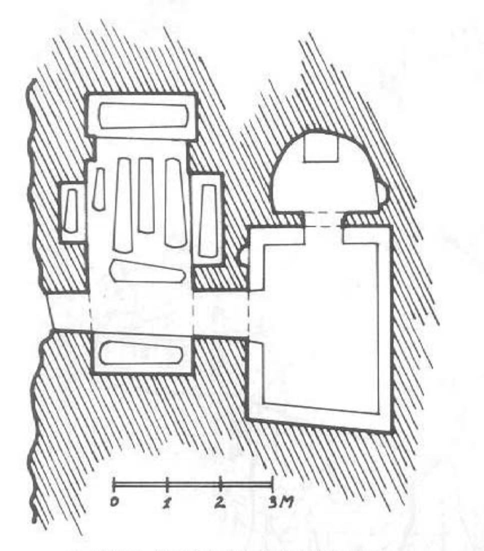
14. Kızıl Çukur, Chapel of Joachim and Anne, plan (after Thierry).



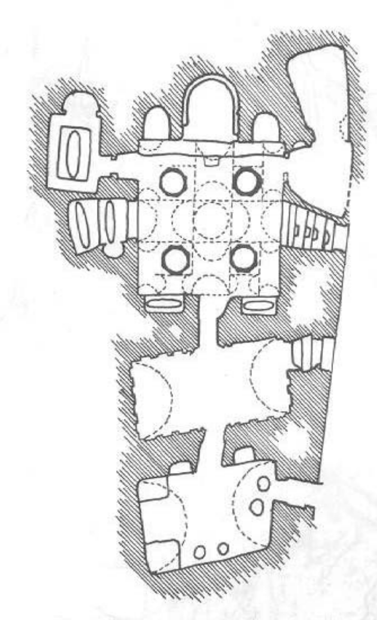
15. Gerdek Kaya, Roman tomb, plan (after Haspels).

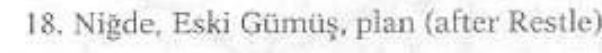


16. Avcılar, Chapel 2a, sketch plan.



17. Göreme, Chapel 10 (St. Daniel), sketch plan.





18. Niğde, Eski Gümüş, plan (after Restle).

19. Map of Cappadocia (after *Arts of Cappadocia*).